The Nation.

July 11-18, 1981 $1.25

PERIODICAL DEPT
THE TENNESSEE STATE UNIV
LIBRARY
JOHNSON CITY TENN

TORIAL

# THE POLISH SPY CAPER

The story was on the front page of *The New York Times*, but it had all the ingredients of a Robert Ludlum or John LeCarré spy thriller. An American and a Polish national were arrested at an apartment in Playa del Rey, a plush beachfront complex near Los Angeles.

The charge? Sale of classified documents from the Hughes Aircraft Company. The motive: The American was having money troubles. The scenario: secret journeys to Austria and Switzerland to deliver films to Polish agents, identified by a code phrase—"Are you a friend of Marian?"

So far, the story reads like a Hollywood treatment. What better company than Hughes? Old Howard himself used to dabble in the movie business. And what better country than Poland, which is all over today's front pages. Add a K.G.B. disinformation operation as a twist, and you have a trendy, up-to-the-minute Hollywood property. We like Marlon Brando to play the 61-year-old American, William Bell, and, in a bit of creative casting, Mikhail Baryshnikov could take a non-dancing role as the 29-year-old Pole, Marian Zacharski. Who knows—maybe The Gipper could come out of retirement to play the F.B.I. director.

But hold the deal. Further down in the story an F.B.I. "counterintelligence specialist" is quoted as saying, "We assume the Poles shared this information with Russia, since Poland is a Warsaw Pact member."

Don't our intelligence services realize that the Poles and the Russians are not exactly abiding by the small print in the Warsaw Pact these days? And where does it say in the Warsaw Pact that signatories are obliged to exchange information acquired by their espionage services? Maybe we'd better scrap the project and stick to fiction. How about a movie adaptation of the El Salvador white paper?

PRESENTING: MOVIE AMERICA
Jules Feiffer

THE MYTH OF HUMANITARIAN FOREIGN AID
David Kinley
Arnold Levinson
Frances Moore Lappé

THE RED SQUAD SETTLEMENTS CONTROVERSY

NEW LIGHT ON OLD BLACK-BAG JOBS
Athan G. Theoharis

THE 'SISTER CARRIE' STORY
Richard Lingeman

BIG OIL 'PARITY'

# PUTTING A CAP ON OUR NATURAL GAS

FRED J. COOK

The first comprehensive inquiry by a Congressional committee into this nation's natural-gas supplies has established that we have enormous amounts of this vital energy resource—but that we still do not know what to do with it. In two days of hearings in early June, the Subcommittee on Fossil and Synthetic Fuels of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce elicited these essential facts:

§ The nation has abundant supplies of natural gas that will last well into the next century and probably beyond.

§ This is so despite the fact that large-scale drilling for natural gas has occurred only within the last two years. Some of the richest known basins have been only 3 to 15 percent explored.

§ Even so, natural-gas supplies are now so plentiful that a lot of wells are being capped because of a lack of pipeline connections to newly discovered fields. Demand is so soft that it has become difficult, sometimes impossible, for drillers to sell what they have.

§ The Power Plant and Industrial Fuel Use Act of 1978, which bans the use of natural gas by utilities after 1990 and prohibits more commercial and industrial establishments from using natural gas, was based on underestimation of natural-gas supplies by the Carter Administration and should be repealed.

§ The clamor for decontrol of natural-gas prices has been raised several decibels by President Reagan's decontrol of oil prices, the argument being that unlimited oil prices encourage drillers to concentrate on finding oil and to neglect further exploration for natural gas.

(*Continued on Page 47*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LETTERS.

## MISNAMED TRIBE

*Urbana, Ill.*

In Bill Wallace's article on the Wycliffe Bible Translators and its subsidiaries ["Missionaries With a Mission?" *The Nation*, May 30], the author perpetuates an inaccurate and pejorative perception of a group of indigenous people in Amazonian Ecuador commonly called Auca—a term that in Quichua, an indigenous language, means "savage," "wild" or demonic." They are properly called Huaroni, or some variant of that name; and, also contrary to popular misconception, they cultivate extensive fields of manioc and a wide variety of other Amazonian crops. These may seem like quibbles, but it is important for journalists in our magazines to be scrupulous in not perpetuating racist and chauvinistic stereotypes that are manipulated to justify the denial of rights to such peoples by presenting them as subhuman. *Jane Adams*

## WALLACE REPLIES

*Berkeley, Calif.*

Since I am no expert in Quichua linguistics, I will have to take Jane Adams's word that the term Auca is pejorative when applied to the Ecuadorean Indian tribe to which I referred. I have checked a variety of sources and am able to find no such implication. I am informed, however, that the tribe commonly known as the Auca is called the Auishiri by anthropologists, and that although it is classified as primarily a hunter-gatherer society by ethnographers, it also practices slash-and-burn agriculture, raising manioc, among other things.

In my initial research for the article I never found the tribe referred to by any name but Auca, and that includes two articles mentioning the tribe that were prepared by the North American Congress on Latin America, an organization unlikely to perpetuate racist and chauvinistic stereotypes knowingly. My use of the term was ignorant—not disparaging. *Bill Wallace*

## INSTITUTIONALIZED NEGLECT

*Springfield, Mass.*

The May 16 article on deinstitutionalization is woefully inadequate ["A Key to Unlock the Asylum?" *The Nation*]. With friends like Jean Bethke Elshtain, the institutionalized may not need enemies.

First, the institutions are horrible places in ways and for reasons that escape Elshtain's article. Foremost is the fact that a "jailer" mentality develops that harms both keepers and kept. Then there is the problem that bizarre behaviors (not necessarily "destructive" ones) are learned in or not suppressed by the institutional atmosphere—in part because the bizarre behavior reinforces the staff's view of themselves as normal and the patients' view of themselves as sick. Finally, there is the absence of, and probably the inability to sustain a program for, accountability. (These are problems with all institutions, whether for the mentally handicapped or not.)

None of these have anything to do with mental illness or retardation as such, but the resulting dependency and passivity or anger and frustration, as well as the bizarre behavior (*not* caused by the illness or retardation), make it difficult for chronic patients to live "outside." Any substitute environment (group homes, supervised apartments, etc.) which continues the above just replaces one institution with another. The problem is not merely one of "individual rights" but the entire sociology and psychology of institutions, and it is a disservice to the institutionalized to imply that overconcern for individual rights has led to the attack on institutions. There are much more serious reasons!

One of the major difficulties with the history of asylums is the absolute failure of the psychiatric, medical, psychological and nursing professionals to accept any blame for the development of these institutions into the pits they had become in the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, no one is even studying how these presumably humane and concerned persons could have and did just watch as those horrors (*Titticut Follies*) developed. Why were they not, at least through their professional associations (to avoid the "losing my job" argument), lobbying for more funds in the legislatures? Why did they not file litigation against the horrible conditions? Why did they not invite the legislators, the governors, the reporters to see the horrible conditions?

Costs are not the relevant force behind deinstitutionalization, as can be seen in any state budget. High-cost items, whether capital outlay or personnel, are still there. The problem is rather that the political process responds to political clout, which the retarded, mentally ill and other institutionalized populations do not have. The medical and human-service groups do have that clout but have traditionally chosen to use it for very much more selfish ends: limiting access to practice, closed forums for malpractice claims, limitations on liability, etc.

In fact, the recent *Pennhurst* decision of the Supreme Court accurately reflects the ambiguity Congress intended in the statute (the Federal Developmentally Disabled Assistance and Bill of Rights Act of 1975), and Congress in turn reflected the ambiguity of the powerless claiming a right to power while the powerful either sat on the sidelines or actively discouraged granting that power.

Because of the above, the "pie in the sky" ending of Elshtain's article is an affront to those of us who do work every day to deal with the real problems of the institutionalized. We need, rather, to shame, cajole and coerce the psychiatrists, doctors, psychologists, et al., into exercising their professional and lobbying power to the good of their clients. Articles like Elshtain's, which fail to point the finger of blame where it belongs, only encourage the attitude that nothing can be done, that no one is to blame, that it is all a product of the inevitable economic situation we are in. Nonsense!

*Raymond P. Bilodeau, J.D.*
*Developmental Disabilities Law Clinic*
*Western New England College*

## MISREPRESENTED VIEWS

*Chestnut Hill, Mass.*

On a point of personal privilege, I would like to respond to Jean Bethke Elshtain's article "A Key to Unlock the Asylum?" in which she presents me as one who advocates the emptying of all institutions for society's problem people and their return to the community with disregard for the tragic consequences of that indiscriminate dumping.

Professor Elshtain kindly responded to my telephone request for the source of her quotation: two sentences taken out of context from my foreword to Yitzhak Bakal's *Closing Correctional Institutions* (Lexington Books, 1973, pp. vii, viii).

Professor Elshtain depicts me as one of the proponents of deinstitutionalization for "an alternative vision of therapeutic communities." Had she quoted my words directly from the original instead of second-hand from Andrew Scull's *Decarceration*, my stance on the institution versus community controversy would not have been distorted. My foreword was to a book which described the revolutionary step taken a decade ago by Massachusetts to return to the community 1,200 youths, of whom only sixty were found to require continued secure settings. By profession, I am a criminologist and not a mental health expert. . . .

I do not urge, as Elshtain implies, the dumping of mentally retarded and disturbed state wards back into their neighborhoods. . . . I have been a critic of the criminal justice system for some decades now. My aim has been to present constructive alternatives to the most blatantly deficient portions of the system—the adversary and sentencing procedures in the criminal court, for which I have urged alternatives in a recent book, *Beyond the Courtroom* (Lexington Books, 1981), and alternatives to traditional prisons and prison programs in *Prisons Inside-Out* (1974), as well as *Halfway Houses* (1970). . . .

I regret that Elshtain, by depicting me as one whose sentimentality outweighs concern for the victims of our court-correctional system, serves only to reinforce those in high places who would impose overlong penalties and brutal confinement on persons at the

(Continued on Page 52)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CONTENTS.

Volume 233, Number 2


COVER
Editorial: The Polish Spy Caper
Big Oil "Parity":
Putting a Cap on Our Natural Gas — *Fred J. Cook*

LETTERS
34

EDITORIALS
35 Moral Blacklist
36 History Lecture
37 *Central America Watch*

ARTICLES
39 Ronald Reagan Presents:
Movie America—Or,
The Past Recaptured — *Jules Feiffer*
41 No Bread for the Needy:
The Myth of "Humanitarian"
Foreign Aid — *David Kinley, Arnold Levinson and Frances Moore Lappé*
43 Checks on Police Spies:
The Red Squad Settlements
Controversy — *Richard Gutman, Flint Taylor and Brian Glick*
46 The Importance of F.O.I.A.:
New Light on Old
Black-Bag Jobs — *Athan G. Theoharis*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
53 Dreiser: Sister Carrie — *Richard Lingeman*
57 Jaffee: Adult Education — *Ann Marie Cunningham*
59 Jones: Bad Blood — *Mary E. Tuttle*
60 Films — *Robert Hatch*


Drawings by Arnold Roth


*Editor,* Victor Navasky

*Executive Editor,* Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editor,* Kai Bird; *Assistant Editor,* Amy Wilentz; *Literary Editor,* Richard Pollak; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor,* Patricia Dowling; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Barbara Dudley Davis, Judith Long; *Editorial Assistant,* Eric Etheridge; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon.

*Departments: Architecture,* Jane Holtz Kay; *Dance,* Nancy Goldner; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Television,* Peter Sourian; *White House Correspondent,* Robert Sherrill. *Correspondents: Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Variations*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). *Contributing Editors,* Blair Clark, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

*The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

*Publisher,* Hamilton Fish

*Advertising Manager,* Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Assistant to Publisher,* Laurie Lipper; *Circulation Manager,* Suzanne Noell; *Subscription Manager,* Stephen King; *Classified,* Deborah Kriger; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Jack Berkowitz; *Circulation Consultant,* Paul Goldberg.



*The Nation* (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1981 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

*Regular Subscription Price:* One year, $30; two years, $50; six months, $15. Add $5 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $7 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. **Please allow 5-7 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.


# EDITORIALS.

## Moral Blacklist

The Coalition for Better Television—an alliance of 300 rightist, antiabortion and fundamentalist groups—announced last week that it had called off a boycott of sponsors of television shows it found morally offensive. But the coalition was not renouncing censorship. It may be that the proposed boycott would have bombed and its promoters are now jawboning; nevertheless, there is something even more insidious about the way it is working in the shadows, privately "persuading" businesses that sponsor shows on the coalition's *Index Prohibitorum* to exert economic censorship. We should not overestimate the power of the coalition—nor underestimate the timidity of advertisers and broadcasters who scramble for their dollars.

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee

Cal Thomas, vice president for communications of the Moral Majority, which was instrumental in the founding of the coalition, told Tony Schwartz of *The New York Times* before the no-boycott announcement, "We've been able to achieve nearly everything we set out to achieve without a boycott. . . . I guess that because of our size, the media attention and some soul-searching they've [the advertisers] done, they've changed their minds." The three major networks had previously showed signs of temporizing. On the one hand, their presidents denounced the boycott as censorship and an infringement of viewers' freedom of choice of programs. On the other hand, Schwartz reported that "sexual themes" in shows being prepared for next fall "had been significantly cut back."

We're against gratuitous violence, sexual titillation and pervasive mediocrity on commercial TV, but we're against

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

boycotts—real or threatened—even more. We agree with the network heads that censorship is the issue here, although so much self-censorship and catering to mass mindlessness goes on now that we must wonder where the Moral Majority types will begin and industry will leave off. Precisely because so much of what's on TV is purely commercial dross, its programmers are all the more vulnerable to groups like the coalition, which flaunt their economic muscle. And while we share the network presidents' fears that "the coalition might next seek control over all programming including news," we must wonder who would allow them such power. Were the executives saying that even their news programs are vulnerable to sponsor pressure?

If the blacklists of the 1950s taught us anything, it was that a small group of censors who didn't like the cut of a performer's politics could get him or her barred from working on television. Now, instead of a Red scare, we have a sex and violence scare, which could affect not only the content of programs but also the performers. Advertisers now ban from their commercials performers who are embroiled in some scandal or are otherwise "controversial." Will actors considered "immoral" or controversial be barred from television roles?

CBS refused to cancel Arthur Miller's television play *Playing for Time* after Jewish groups protested the casting of Vanessa Redgrave as a half-Jewish woman who is sent to a concentration camp. Now the networks should make it unequivocally clear that they will not bow to pressure from groups like the Coalition for Better Television. The coalition claims to speak for morality, but as the public philippics of the Rev. Jerry Falwell have revealed, its members have strong political views as well. There is the troubling prospect of a business-conservative-religious alliance acting to infuse programming with its values, whether moral, political or economic. The door has been opened to the ideological Comstocks, and we have little confidence in either the restraint of the censors or the will to resist of their targets.

# History Lecture

Although one wouldn't know it from mainstream press coverage (that is to say, the lack of it), the testimony in what may have been a landmark case came to a close June 27 in Room 302 at the Foley Square Courthouse in New York City.

*Socialist Workers Party* v. *Attorney General* began eight years ago, when the S.W.P. and the Young Socialist Alliance, both Trotskyist organizations, filed a civil suit demanding $40 million in recompense for four decades of illegal acts against them by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other government agencies. As presiding Judge Thomas Griesa put it when the suit finally came to trial in March after eight years of stalling tactics by the government [see Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, "Square Target of the F.B.I.," *The Nation*, September 25, 1976]: "The issues in this case relate to the most fundamental constitutional rights which lie at the very foundation of our system of government—the right to engage in political organization and to speak freely on political subjects, without interference and harassment from governmental organs."

Indeed, the S.W.P.'s suit focused widespread public attention on the F.B.I.'s infamous COINTELPRO operations and eventually yielded more than 200,000 pages of documentation of illegal government investigations of black, labor, women's and antiwar groups as well as of socialist and other political movements in this country. The government claimed that since Attorney General Edward Levi issued his 1976 guidelines ostensibly banning such activities, it no longer engages in harassment of the S.W.P., but the plaintiffs introduced evidence purporting to show that COINTELPRO-type tactics such as burglary, arson and phony letter campaigns are still being employed against the party and its members. But the party's original plan to use the case as a vehicle for educating the American people in what Frank Donner, author of *The Age of Surveillance*, has called the intelligence community's ugly "mode of governance," went awry.

First, for reasons still unclear, the S.W.P. encouraged Leonard Boudin, who had handled their case for eight years (and in whose name, incidentally, hundreds of thousands of defense dollars were raised), to terminate his involvement two weeks before the case went to trial. Boudin, who is one of the leading constitutional lawyers in the country and something of a celebrity in his own right, was their best chance of attracting mainstream media attention and maintaining credibility, so letting him go was at a minimum a public relations blunder. Whether because of Boudin's absence or a changed climate, press coverage fell off markedly.

A second diversion occurred when the government claimed that its operations against the S.W.P. were justified because the party is a conspiratorial, revolutionary and subversive organization. This was proved, the government argued, by the party's claim that it represents the true traditions of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. This opened the way for the party to put Farrell Dobbs, its elder statesman, on the stand to explain the party's relationship to the revolution, after which Judge Griesa surprised the courtroom by announcing that he had read an *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on the revolution and wanted to know more.

At this point, the government produced one J. Gregory Oswald, professor of history at the University of Arizona, whose scholarly credentials seemed to consist solely of two books he had edited about Soviet policies toward Latin America. Oswald described the Bolshevik Revolution in terms that made it seem little more than a conspiracy against the Russian people.

**Notice to Our Readers**

*The Nation*'s summer schedule will be in effect during July and August. Our next issue will be dated July 25-August 1.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thus it was that on the final day of what had originally been billed as the definitive trial of illegal police activities in the contemporary United States, a packed courtroom sat enthralled as they received a lecture about the Finland Station in 1917. For more than four hours, Stephen Cohen, a professor of Soviet politics and history at Princeton University, testified that the Russian Revolution was a popular uprising rather than a conspiracy, and dilated on the nature of the original Bolshevik movement, the early history of the Soviet government and the relationship of Marxism to everything from terrorism to constitutional republicanism.

In the weeks ahead we expect to read the transcript of the trial closely, since we have been unable to glean from newspaper coverage what documentation of continuing police abuses the Socialist Workers Party has placed on the public record. We have no idea how Judge Griesa will rule on the S.W.P.'s $40 million damage claim, although we were pleased to see that the U.S. Supreme Court last week affirmed a lower court decision that former President Richard M. Nixon and three top-level aides may be required to pay monetary damages for unconstitutionally wiretapping the telephone of Morton Halperin, a former national security aide.

Thus far, the public remains relatively ignorant about the nature and extent of the government's intrusions on our liberties. This is unfortunate, especially at a time when the Reagan Administration, buttressed by the Heritage Foundation report [see Jay Peterzell, "Unleashing the Dogs of McCarthyism," *The Nation,* January 17], is expected to ask for renewed authority to infiltrate domestic organizations, and to tap, bug and otherwise harass them. Nevertheless, given the incessant alarums about Soviet-inspired terrorism (despite F.B.I. Director William Webster's dismissal of this alleged threat), Professor Cohen's Russian history lesson may have been worth the price of admission all by itself.

# CENTRAL AMERICA WATCH.

The latest effort of the Socialist International to negotiate an end to the war in El Salvador has apparently resulted in failure. Canadian Edward Broadbent, vice president of the Socialist International, returned to Ottawa empty-handed in mid-June, after talks with leaders in El Salvador, Mexico, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Cuba and the United States about a political solution to the Salvadoran conflict. Broadbent called his trip "the most grueling task of my political life," pointing to "the growing toll in terms of human life and suffering" as well as to the Duarte government's refusal to accept international mediators.

Broadbent indicated that the junta's rejection of negotiations by outsiders came as "no surprise," but expressed "deep disappointment" that Washington, "despite its isolation from the view of leaders in the region, seems so intent on military support for the junta." A "substantial majority" of the governments and parties in Central America with whom he spoke "revealed a strong and urgent concern that a negotiated settlement be reached" and agreed that the elections proposed by the junta for 1982 would be a "travesty."

Broadbent's conclusions differ slightly from those of Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, general secretary of West Germany's Social Democratic Party, who undertook a similar trip to Central America last May. In an unpublished report to the Socialist International, Wischnewski stated that Duarte was "completely open" to the idea of a political solution, but found Salvadoran Defense Minister Col. José Guillermo García "skeptical" and the army "determined to keep power tightly in their own hands."

The Salvadoran government has charged that the endorsement of international mediation by the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (F.D.R.) is a "Communist maneuver to deceive world opinion," and claims to have captured an F.D.R. position paper spelling out negotiations as a tactic simply to "buy time." That document was to be released by the State Department in a follow-up to its February white paper titled "Communist Interference in El Salvador." But the second installment was delayed by articles in *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* criticizing the State Department's misinterpretations of the first set of "captured" documents in the white paper. The F.D.R., for its part, maintains that the new captured document was merely a draft option paper for discussion purposes, and never reflected the position of the front.

Meanwhile, in an intensified rally for international support, El Salvador's Vice President, Col. Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez, traveled to Chile and Uruguay "to explain the Salvadoran problem in view of the distortion . . . created by international Marxism." While he was in the Chilean capital, Gutiérrez bestowed on President Augusto Pinochet one of his country's highest honors, the Order of José Matías Delgado, named after a hero of El Salvador's struggle for independence. Speaking at the Moneda Palace, Gutiérrez called on "all peoples and governments of America . . . which love peace, freedom and authentic humanitarian democracy to remain and struggle united." Chile has offered technical assistance to El Salvador.

■ **Relations between the United States and Nicaragua hit a new low last February following Secretary of State Alexander Haig's charges that Nicaragua was running guns to rebels in El Salvador. Now, in a move that the Nicaraguan government perceives as designed to increase the pressure, the State Department is urging the Senate to adopt a 1972 treaty giving Colombia rights to three keys off the Nicaraguan coast. The keys—Quitasueño, Roncador and Serrano—as well as two tiny islands farther to the south, have been the subject of centuries of struggle between Nicaragua and Colombia. Old-fashioned U.S. expansionism**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**complicated the matter in 1869, when a U.S. citizen claimed the keys for himself under provisions of the Guano Act, giving private individuals the right to take over "unoccupied and unclaimed" islands with guano deposits.**

**The treaty, currently before the Senate, renounces U.S. claims to the keys, a matter of "giving away something you never had to begin with," Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto has charged. But the problem doesn't stop there. Nicaragua and Colombia are also contesting sovereignty over the two southern islands—San Andres and Providencia. Historically, whoever ruled the islands held the keys. In 1928, during the occupation of Nicaragua by U.S. Marines, Colombia and Nicaragua signed a treaty giving Colombia rights to the islands. The Sandinist government today contests the validity of that treaty. At the time of its signing, the Nicaraguan foreign minister wasn't even in the country, it says, and in addition to the Marine occupation, Nicaragua faced a threatened invasion of its Atlantic coast by Colombia.**

**Jurisdiction over the territories has raised tempers in Nicaragua and Colombia alike, partly because both countries hope there is oil in the underlying shelf. According to provisions of the Law of the Sea, whoever rules the islands has economic rights to 200 miles of surrounding waters.**

**U.S. officials insist that ratifying the 1972 treaty, which affects only the three keys, will not prejudice a later settlement between Nicaragua and Colombia over the status of the islands. But that was not the opinion of former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee William Fulbright, who delayed action on the treaty in 1972 because he believed that the "trilateral problem" would best be settled in international court. To assuage the Nicaraguans, the State Department has offered to include a provision in the treaty promising U.S. impartiality in the outstanding Nicaraguan-Colombian dispute.**

**Back in January 1980, D'Escoto told Secretary of State Cyrus Vance that U.S. efforts to press the treaty would be viewed in Managua as a "hostile act." That message was repeated to Haig last February, but in May, the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington received word that the State Department was ready to go to the Senate "any day."**

**Why the haste? Most observers attribute it to the Colombians, who are seeking closer relations—and possibly arms—from the United States. On a recent trip by Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders to Bogotá, the Colombians pledged to "combat Cuban expansionism in the Caribbean and Central America." [See Penny Lernoux, "Haig's Cuban Quarantine," *The Nation*, June 27.] Soon they are expected to come up with a "white paper" on Cuban involvement with the M-19 guerrillas, who staged an abortive offensive in northern Colombia earlier this year.**

■ As the civil war in El Salvador drags on, the peasants continue to bear the brunt of the violence. Many of them have been driven from their homes into refugee camps both inside and outside the country. Now religious and humanitarian relief organizations have been told that they must move some 30,000 Salvadoran refugees out of a region along the border with Honduras. They have been given fifteen days—from June 29 to July 13—to complete the operation. According to press reports on June 26, Col. Oscar Nejía Peralta, the Honduran military commander for the zone, said the decision had been made jointly by the military and "the international groups that lend assistance to the refugees." But members of the relief organizations contradict the military's version, saying that they were ordered to move the refugees out within four days. After they protested that this would be impossible, they were given the slight extension.

The evacuation comes on the heels of a recent statement by Salvadoran Minister of Defense García that the Salvadoran armed forces consider "at least 15 percent" of the refugee population to be "terrorists," and that "pressure from other countries had been applied to both the government of Honduras and the relief organization to force their displacement." Refugee camps have been in the area for more than a year, and the settlements include survivors of two massacres that took place as they were trying to cross rivers that form the Salvadoran boundary with Honduras. The week of May 15, 1980, an estimated 600 refugees attempting to cross the Rio Sumpul were killed in a joint operation by Salvadoran and Honduran troops. Last March 28, another forty were believed killed in a Salvadoran air assault on refugees crossing the Rio Lempa. Volunteers who work in the camps fear that the current maneuvers are a prelude to a major assault on the Salvadoran province of Chalatenango, just south of the zone. They add that an apparent military buildup on the Honduras side might indicate an "Operation Sandwich," in which Honduran troops would block the border while Salvadoran troops would drive the refugees toward it. One Honduran soldier serving with TESON, a special antisubversive and night-operations corps, stated that four U.S. military advisers had been working with his group in its headquarters at Santa Rosa de Copán, just a few kilometers north of the zone in question. His corps, like the elite Salvadoran battalions, is armed with U.S. M-16s.

The relief organizations working with refugees in El Salvador and Honduras are themselves the objects of a new propaganda offensive. At a time when the February installment of the State Department white paper on Communist intervention in El Salvador has come under criticism in the American press, the Administration has been disseminating information purporting to incriminate such organizations as Oxfam America, the World Council of Churches and the Catholic Relief Services. The message took a local twist when, on June 23, Jack Binns, U.S. Ambassador to Honduras, accused Caritas and Ceban, the Honduran Catholic and Protestant relief committees respectively, of "delivering over 50 percent of their assistance to the Salvadoran guerrillas." Later that week, other embassy officials in Tegucigalpa quietly disavowed the Ambassador's remarks, but their statements went unreported in the Honduran and Salvadoran newspapers that had published the original charges.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ARTICLES.

RONALD REAGAN PRESENTS

# Movie America—Or, The Past Recaptured

JULES FEIFFER

Ronald Reagan spoke at Notre Dame not too long ago. He came *back* to Notre Dame, although he had never actually gone. He had gone there in a movie, *Knute Rockne, All American*. He played Frank Gipp, known as The Gipper. The Gipper died, and Knute Rockne, played by Pat O'Brien, gave a locker-room speech in the movie. President Reagan reminisced about the speech. He told his Notre Dame audience that Pat O'Brien didn't give that speech to just any football team; he waited years until he found a team that was quarrelsome, dispirited, bitterly divided—a prophetic metaphor, one might say, for present-day America. And Pat O'Brien Rockne galvanized that losing team by calling forth the ghost of The Gipper—Ronald Reagan, that is—that hero-player who died tragically. "Let's win this one for The Gipper," President Reagan quoted Knute Rockne as saying. And that bitterly divided team came together, went out on the playing field as one and wiped out the opposition football team, their helmets and cleats no doubt supplied by Cuba and the Soviet Union.

To say the least, Mr. Reagan's speech was apocryphal. It was true all right, true in the movies. But in the world that exists outside the movie world, the record shows that that was not a divided Notre Dame team that year, and the speech Rockne gave was, according to veteran players, the same speech he gave over and over and over again, as inspirational as any other locker-room speech. It's not that Ronald Reagan made it up. The movies made it up, and Ronald Reagan believes the movies.

The President told a White House audience of Jews on Holocaust Day that, unlike right-wing extremists who claim that the Holocaust was an invention, he knows for a fact that it happened because he was in Europe in 1945 when the death camps were found and he saw movies, actual films. That's how Ronald Reagan knows about the Holocaust, the way he knows about Knute Rockne. History only exists if one visited it personally or caught it on film. Had he not seen timely, on-the-spot photographs of the Holocaust, our President might today be calling it The Holocaust Theory, as suspicious of the Holocaust as he is of evolution. There are as yet no movies of evolution. But if Ronald Reagan in his Warner Bros. days had been cast in a movie about Charles Darwin, today he would believe in evolution.

And that, I'm afraid, is what we're in for: Movie America, a world which in large measure is a piece of fiction, a mini-myth in which Pat O'Brien is interchangeable with Knute Rockne, the past is rear projection, memory is dead and when it's not dead it goes back no further than Warner Bros., 1945.

Movie America, where saying makes it so, where Tinker Bell logic rules. Close your eyes and wish. Will it, and it's bound to come true. Trust in faith. Trust in ignorance. Trust in the faith of your own ignorance overcoming the faith of your enemy's ignorance. Trust in romantic characters and hard-nosed imagery. Trust in that cold-war revival movie—*The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming*. Trust, as Ronald Reagan does, in John Wayne's America. For the first time in our nation's history, naked ideology occupies the White House. And on what is this ideology based? How is it formed philosophically? On Hollywood movies.

Movie America, where small frame houses on shady-laned suburban streets housed large, loving, quirky, good-humored, plucky, patriotic, white Protestant families with colored maids who were not one whit less large, loving, quirky and good humored; where individualism thrived, and handouts, charity, bureaucracy, officialdom of any kind were scorned. Except of course for the cop on the corner. Where there were family and community and good schools that had good teams and held great proms. On Sunday in Movie America everyone went to church. Jews and gentiles and Buddhists and Seventh-Day Adventists went to movie church and listened to a movie sermon in which Jesus Christ was The Gipper who died not for our sins but for our gross national product, so that we might go out there and win—win a new job, win the ball game, win a pay raise, win a boyfriend, win a war.

Movie America was born out of the hearts and minds of immigrant Jews and first-generation Irish, who, as producers and directors and screenplay writers, gave us the faith, the faith of their own fantasies that became, in time, the fantasies of virtually everyone else. They gave us a dream that proved over and over that Americans were handsome, charming, rugged go-getters; that we were winners, that we were classless, that we were white. Movie world—the leveling of diversity, the whiting of America.

A dream that taught us to be patient; the time would come when we'd be up on the mental screen, with our house in the suburbs or our penthouse in the city, our apple-cheeked kids, our romantic memories of colorful poverty, happy-go-lucky war, tossing pebbles into the sea while trotting in slow-motion on the beach with our loved ones.

These were the supply-side fantasies that led to movie reality, that led to a leader born out of this ersatz reality

*Jules Feiffer is a cartoonist and writer whose new play,* Grownups, *is currently at the American Repertory Theater in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This article is adapted from his commencement address at Pratt Institute on June 5.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

schooling himself in its values, its Warner backlot dreams, waiting in the wings to take over when a country, demythified, deromanticized, caught in slow decline, called upon the last faith left, the last remaining belief after we stopped believing in God and church and family and education—movie faith. Conservatism is not the name of the philosophy now residing in the White House. Tinker Bell is the name of the philosophy now residing in the White House.

Nostalgia for a time that never existed anywhere but on movie and television screens—adherence to a set of principles whose substance is made of popcorn.

That national awareness that began in the 1960s, the awareness that this society might not be as just as advertised, as free and equal as promised, that began with civil rights sit-ins and ended with Vietnam disruptions; a decade that promised to tear the country apart and remake it has led instead to Jimmy Carter, who put us to sleep, and, once fast asleep, what did we dream of? Why, the movies. Movie magic. The coming of a handsome old prince.

For fifty years we have dreamed of movie magic but never before have we elected it to our highest office. Who'd believe it could actually solve our problems?

But now we live in a period where we believe nothing can solve our problems. The poor will always be with us, so screw the poor. Blacks and Hispanics and Indians and homosexuals will always be with us, so screw them too. The old and aging will always be with us, not wise and paternal and full of folk wisdom as they once were on the screen but infirm and demanding and stinking up the back room of the house or the nursing home or the retirement community to which we have succeeded in exiling many of them.

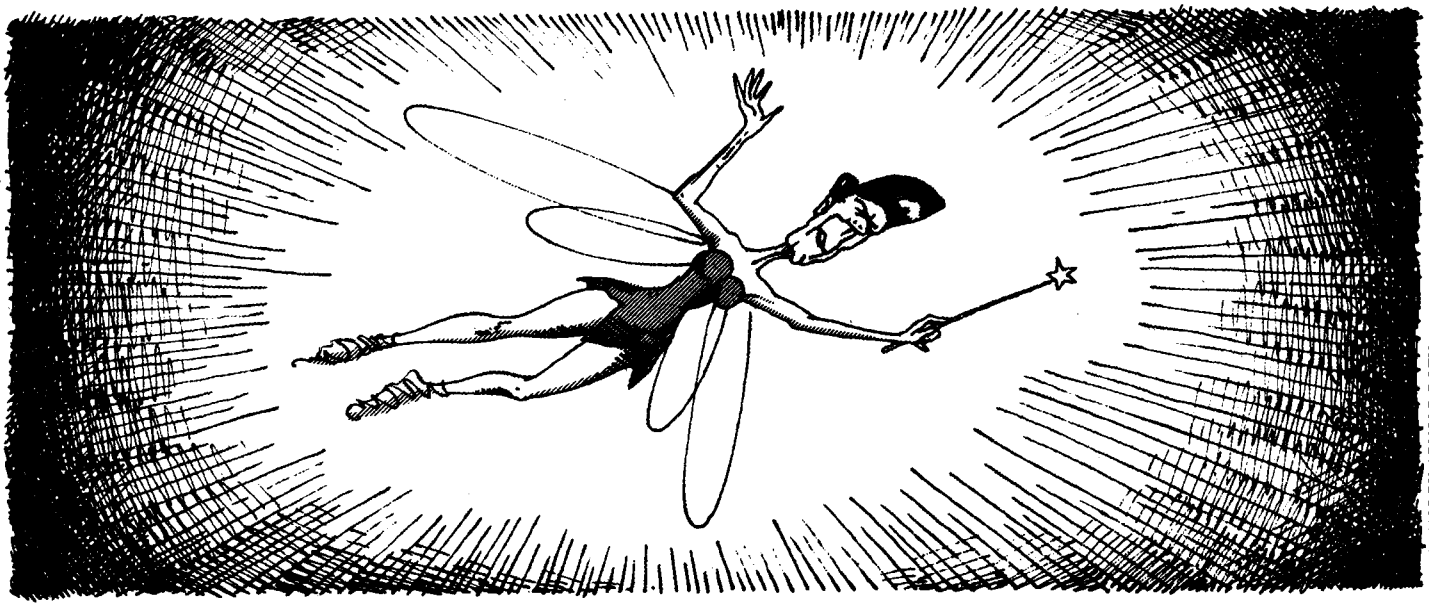
One of the meanest phrases to come along in our time is the phrase: "You can't throw dollars at problems." We threw dollars at the poor, didn't we? And they didn't go away. We threw dollars at blacks; we threw dollars at Medicare and Medicaid and welfare and abortion clinics; and all we succeeded in doing, according to present-day conventional wisdom, was to give us more poor, more angry blacks, more bad health and bad health care, more babies and more abortions. That is what we mean when we talk, as we do now, of the failure of liberalism. We mean really the failure of hope, the failure of optimism, the breakdown of an ethic made up of idealism and generous impulses. So that today even liberals are quoted as saying, "You can't throw dollars at problems." They have forgotten who gave us the phrase: Richard M. Nixon.

But there is one place you can throw dollars. You can throw dollars at the military, where we have thrown dollars for years; and yet, according to experts, we are now virtually helpless against the Russians. So, apparently, throwing dollars at the military is as fruitless as throwing dollars at problems. Our missiles are sickly, our naval forces are undernourished, our Air Force is on food stamps, our Army, we suspect, can't or won't fight. Clearly, throwing dollars at the military doesn't work any better than throwing them at the poor and the old and the needy and the racially oppressed.

But this is a view out of fashion in Movie America. Living in a time when we don't believe anything *real* can be solved, anything truly can get better (that the American pie is shrinking!), we lose interest in the rights or welfare of others. When there is no light at the end of the tunnel, when there is just more tunnel at the end of the tunnel, we acquire tunnel vision: us against them, us against our neighbors.

Having turned hopeless, we turn mean, we turn suspicious. When you're suspicious, you see black muggers under the bed and the Russians outside the window. And that's why we need dollars to throw at our armed might, our police, our C.I.A., our F.B.I., our cruise missiles.

Movie America is not, underneath it all, a creation born out of hope. It is a creation born out of disillusion disguised as hope. It is a supply-side nightmare, in which we are asked to remember nothing but our fears, nothing but our perceived or misperceived needs. We are to remember nothing that really happened, nothing on which experience can be based. That memory is to be despised, dismissed as the "Vietnam syndrome," dismissed as "the ghost of McCarthyism."



DRAWINGS BY ARNOLD ROTH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Memory is to become as disposable as diapers, as transitory as fast foods. History is a threat to movie imagery, so history is limited to today's press release; yesterday's is denied, the day before yesterday's is rewritten.

The enemies of memory, having moved to revoke evolution, now move to revoke the library card. The Moral Majority, its friends in and out of government, know, with a chilling assurance, good from bad, right from wrong. They know the Bible. They invent the Bible. They invent our past to suit their present. They are the quasi-official censors of Movie America. They do not approve of R-rated literature, R-rated movies or television, R-rated lives. They want G. They want goodness and light and white and shady lanes and picket fences and Mickey Rooney as Andy Hardy and Walt Disney as God. They want us, our hearts and minds.

Moonie-eyed with movie magic, they wish to define our reality, make tintypes out of our hopes, turn our most creative, innovative and ambivalent impulses into needlepoint samplers.

With a hard-line ideology now in power, the stage is set for a debate that will prove or disprove arguments that have been chewed over for generations. Out of this debate will emerge a new American character either more authoritarian and repressive or more democratic and egalitarian, more curious and therefore more willing to suffer the complications and uncertainties that go with change or more willfully ignorant and arming to the teeth against the threat.

We are now full-fledged combatants in a war movie. A battle for the soul of the good old F.S.A.—the Fragmented States of America. I hope you're on my side. □

NO BREAD FOR THE NEEDY

# The Myth of 'Humanitarian' Foreign Aid

DAVID KINLEY, ARNOLD LEVINSON AND FRANCES MOORE LAPPE

By springing to the defense of foreign aid against Budget Director David Stockman's ax, Secretary of State Alexander Haig proved that he could defend aid programs more effectively than the liberals. When the dust cleared, many were surprised to learn that the Reagan Administration's foreign aid package for 1982 would top what Carter spent in 1981 by $2 billion and that the proposed increases applied equally to economic and military components of the program, with corresponding cuts in food aid and development assistance.

Actually, as Haig presumably knows well, such "humanitarian" programs as Food for Peace and the aid distributed by the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) and the World Bank primarily serve to shore up elite-dominated "authoritarian" regimes, in Haig's revisionist lexicon, friendly both to U.S. national security and to corporate interests.

In his confidential report "Foreign Aid Retrenchment," Stockman attacks the World Bank as being "not responsive to U.S. foreign policy concerns." According to Stockman, the bank's International Development Association (I.D.A.)—up for new appropriations this year—has "supported state planning efforts in some countries and in recent years placed major emphasis on programs fostering income redistribution." But Haig understands that despite a few programs suggesting income redistribution, the World Bank's major aid recipients are the very same governments that receive large amounts of direct U.S. economic and military support, notably the Philippines, Pakistan, South Korea, Indonesia, India and Bangladesh. Although the bank has indeed been unresponsive to U.S. directives that funds be withheld from governments that consistently violate human rights (among which are the aforementioned countries), this obviously was not the transgression with which Stockman was concerned.

Right-wingers like Stockman are upset about World Bank loans to "socialist" countries like Tanzania and Yugoslavia, and complain that the bank, in its lending to the poorest countries, "has not been vigorous in using leverage inherent in these large lending programs to press recipients to redirect the economies toward a market orientation." Actually, only a small portion of the World Bank's funds go to countries that are socialist, using the broadest definition of the word. Rather than supplanting free-market forces, the bank's loans for infrastructure, industry and capital market development foster the expansion of domestic and foreign entrepreneurial capital throughout the Third World. They also provide lucrative contracts and consultancies for U.S.-based multinational corporations.

In the past, U.S. foreign aid programs have been sold to the American public as international poverty programs. Robert McNamara and other development aid technocrats spoke of "targeting the basic needs of the poor" in the Third World. The World Bank and A.I.D. are supposedly "helping the small farmer" through "appropriate technology" and "popular participation in development." Now, Haig speaks in terms of "national security" while Stockman argues that only foreign aid that is good for the multinationals is good for the country. No wonder ordinary people are confused about the real purpose of U.S. aid to the Third World.

Studies of the impact of U.S. aid programs on the rural poor majority in the Third World show that rather than "helping the small farmer," as claimed, bilateral and

*David Kinley is co-author, with Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, of* Aid as Obstacle: Twenty Questions About Our Foreign Aid and the Hungry *(San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1980). He coordinates the institute's aid education project. Arnold Levinson is a freelance writer/journalist based in Oakland, California.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

multilateral aid programs support regimes that repress the poor and neglect their needs, and mainly assist urban-oriented industrial and commercial development along with the rural "infrastructures" that serve it. Agricultural development programs are confined to the already better-off farmers, while neglecting the genuinely needy smallholders and landless, who compose the bulk of the rural poor. The World Bank's aid—to which Americans contributed about $1.2 billion in 1980—goes to governments, not people, let alone the poor. And its lending is so concentrated that ten of its seventy-eight nation-clients in fiscal 1980 received more than half of the $11.5 billion in loan commitments. Most of these ten, moreover, exhibit a pattern of neglect of the needs and the rights of their poor majorities.

Take Indonesia, the bank's second-favorite client regime this year. According to the United Nation's International Labor Office, the nutritional status of Indonesia's poor worsens yearly. Yet what strikes foreign visitors to the central island of Java is the large number of luxury automobiles and fancy government edifices amid the squalor. President Suharto's regime squanders the nation's spectacular oil and gas revenues—$10 billion in 1980, almost the amount of total World Bank lending that year—on luxury imports, military hardware and showy, capital-intensive industrial projects that neither provide for the needs of Indonesia's majority nor generate desperately needed employment for the increasing numbers of jobless. And while the World Bank lends the Indonesian government up to $1 billion annually at very favorable interest rates, Indonesian oil revenues are being invested in the high-yielding Eurodollar markets.

Moreover, at least three of the World Bank's top ten recipients—South Korea, the Philippines and Indonesia—are notorious for being among the most repressive governments in the world. Studies of the bank's loan allocations during the 1970s found a pattern of increased aid to countries that had undergone military takeovers or imposition of martial law. Uruguay, Chile, the Philippines and Argentina, for instance, received a sevenfold hike in bank lending during the 1970s at a time when bank loans overall had grown only threefold. Human-rights amendments to Congressional appropriations for the World Bank have not stopped a single loan to these regimes.

A public relations blitz by the World Bank has portrayed a major shift in its lending priorities from a "trickle-down," urban-based development strategy toward increased loans for "agriculture and rural development," "population, health and nutrition" and other activities trumpeted as providing opportunities and services to the poor. As bank vice president Hollis Chenery recently told *The New York Times*, "The great bulk of recent World Bank lending has been to small farmers, through institutions at the grass roots." A quick scan of the bank's *Annual Report 1980*, however, reveals that little more than 30 percent of all money loaned came under the broadly defined heading of Agriculture and Rural Development and that fully 60 percent went to projects in the categories Power, Transportation, Industry, Development Finance, Telecommunications and Non-Project (i.e., direct financial support to governments).

The World Bank's agriculture and rural development grants have been used as an instant measure of its commitment to the rural poor. But the overwhelming portion of funds allocated under this rubric do not go to so-called small farmers. Rather, they finance the construction of rural roads and electrification and irrigation projects—all of which benefit the better-off, commercially oriented farmers, merchants and landlords—as the bank's own evaluations of the programs have shown. Moreover, a recently completed A.I.D. survey of such "rural development" projects found that "operating and project expenditures for . . . rural-oriented activities are made primarily in the capital cities." The obvious result, the report concludes, is that "employment generated by these expenditures and their multipliers provides a significant incentive for rural-urban migration." Of course, few who flee landlessness and joblessness in the countryside find satisfactory work in the cities, especially as aid-generated jobs tend to go mostly to trained technicians, certified contractors and foreign consultants.

Another fundamental flaw undermines the World Bank's supposed poverty-oriented lending programs. Like the Bank of America, whose former president A.W. Clausen now heads the World Bank, the World Bank is primarily concerned with getting its loans repaid with interest; therefore, it can lend only to the "safe credit risks." In the Third World this means farmers who already control considerable farm assets and who can produce a sizable surplus for the market. Under such criteria, government agencies using World Bank financing will never help the truly small farmers, who till only a few acres as tenants, sharecroppers or subsistence growers. Yet these landless and near-landless people make up the majority of rural dwellers in at least twenty Asian and Latin American countries.

Thus, while the bank boasts of its small-farmer focus, nearly all of its farm lending actually goes to those with considerable land, market access and, above all, political clout. A World Bank rural credit project in the Philippines, for example, set aside 30 percent of its loan money for farmers with fewer than seventeen acres. Apart from the fact that most of the project funds still go to big operators, seventeen acres is hardly the appropriate cutoff point for defining a small farmer in the Philippines, where the average farm is only half that size.

**COMING UP:**

"Women's Rights and the Draft," by Mim Kelber.

"The Institute for Educational Affairs: Right-Wing Idea Brokers," by Peter Stone.

"Punishment by Passport: The Supreme Court and Philip Agee."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The bank's emphasis on "creditworthiness" does more than simply bypass the world's rural poor. The larger farmers use their bank credit to expand their holdings and to apply new technologies to their farms. Land prices and rents soar, renters are evicted and machines take over the jobs of the landless laborers. The smallholders, who must depend on private moneylenders for credit at usurious rates, find it even harder to stay in business. They soon join the already swollen ranks of the landless.

Bolstering highly inequitable and repressive social structures in the Third World is only one of the accomplishments of the World Bank and our similarly patterned bilateral "assistance" programs. As top-level policy makers point out every year to Congress, these programs are a tremendous boost to U.S.-based multinational corporations. About 75 percent of A.I.D.'s total development assistance funds are spent right here in the United States. The business multiplier for the multilateral development banks is even higher: Every dollar that U.S. taxpayers pay into the World Bank generates about $10 in procurement contracts for U.S. companies. Almost half of the $1-billion-plus A.I.D.-financed purchases in 1978 went to only twenty-two megacorporations. As one lobbyist for the F.M.C. Corporation, a large international producer of machinery and chemicals, put it, "We don't see foreign aid as a liberal issue, we see it as part of world trade and we are part of world trade. Clearly, foreign aid is of interest to us."

Foreign aid also has a critical role to play in the maintenance of highly inequitable global financial structures. Led by the nonoil-producing nations, which are hardest hit by rising interest rates and oil prices, the Third World now owes more than half a trillion dollars. The largest private banks, such as Citicorp and Bank of America, hold the notes for more than half of this debt, having out-lent the public agencies by two-to-one during the last decade. Now, it seems, the private bankers are worried that they have overextended themselves in the unstable underdeveloped world. They want the World Bank and other "public" institutions such as the International Monetary Fund to supervise "austerity" measures that will insure timely repayment of their massive loans. With Clausen at the helm of the World Bank, we can rest assured that such a strategy will get careful consideration.

Conversely, the Clausen appointment gives the World Bank needed credibility in the private-capital markets where the bank raises most of its loan capital. The closer integration of World Bank activities with private banking and direct multinational investments is evidenced by stepped-up discussions among high-level officials about increased "co-financing" of World Bank projects by private capital and about the expansion of the bank's International Finance Corporation, an agency that facilitates and participates in private-sector investments in the Third World.

Perhaps David Stockman has learned that U.S. foreign aid programs can never be viewed as simply another line item in the national budget. As Haig's successful defense of aid points out, neither should aid be mistaken for an international poverty program. Our foreign economic aid programs, along with massive military aid and credit sales, export financing and investment insurance—all of which we pay for—serve to shore up the control of a relative few over the Third World's abundance of productive resources. □

CHECKS ON POLICE SPIES

# The Red Squad Settlements Controversy

*In 1971, members of a wide variety of peace and political activist groups filed a class-action suit against the New York City "Red Squad,"* Handschu *v.* Special Services Division, *charging illegal surveillance, infiltration and intimidation of political activity protected by the First Amendment. Last December, after nearly a decade of litigation, counsel for plaintiffs and the police agreed to a settlement. This settlement still has to be approved in court, and it has generated considerable controversy among civil libertarians and political activists. A number of objections, including some by the original plaintiffs, have been filed; Nat Hentoff has written a series of articles in* The Village Voice *denouncing the settlement, which has been defended by other civil libertarians. Much of the disagreement is necessarily technical, turning on the analysis of particular provisions (there is disagreement not only over what the settlement accomplishes but over what it actually contains), but there are also larger issues.*

*Dorothy Samuels, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, whose lawyers helped negotiate the New York settlement, believes "it affords significantly greater protection against police intelligence than currently exists and, while sacrificing no existing rights, achieves more in terms of limiting the use of intrusive investigative techniques than could have been gained had the case gone to trial." While "a judiciary vigilantly protective of associational and privacy rights guaranteed by the Constitution would strictly limit police investigations that may intrude on lawful political activity," the courts have traditionally placed few restraints on such investigations. "In evaluating the proper legal strategy to pursue to deter abuse of police power, the cold reality of the present state of the law must weigh very heavily." While far from perfect, according to Samuels, the proposed settlement in the New York case achieves the following:*

*(1) a requirement that investigations of political activists or groups may be commenced only upon receipt of specific information that the subject is engaged in, about to engage in, or has threatened to engage in criminal conduct;*

*(2) a requirement that the reasons for undertaking such an investigation be stated in writing and approved and periodically reviewed by a three-person oversight authority including one nonpolice member;*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*(3) the requirement that undercover personnel may be authorized only when "essential to develop information" and only with the oversight authority's initial approval and periodic review—a sort of bureaucratic warrant system; and*

*(4) the establishment of procedures for victims of political surveillance to inspect and copy the police files on their activities. Access to this information is a serious deterrent to abuse of police power and, contrary to some critics' claims, the settlement does* not *authorize destruction of these files.*

*Marshall Perlin, an attorney who works with the Fund for Open Information and Accountability and who represents some of the objectors to the* Handschu *settlement, believes that it compromises the very premise on which the action was brought and is worse than no settlement at all. In Perlin's view, the heart of litigation against police abuse must be "compelling the police to produce and disgorge records that reveal the extent and nature of the illegal and repressive misuse of police powers." The dissemination of this material, Perlin says, allows the public to act legally and politically to prevent the recurrence of the abuse. "The tragedy in* Handschu *is that there was never any serious attempt to obtain such records . . . even though permission to engage in such discovery was afforded by the court." Perlin also believes the settlement "serves as a basis for limiting people's access to Police Department files that is granted to them under the New York State Freedom of Information law," and he objects to the fact that it "deprives anyone of the right to sue for damages because of past collection or retention of information."*

*Finally, Perlin says, it "authorizes the police, through an 'authority' controlled by the police, to place informers, to infiltrate organizations, to engage in warrantless surveillance by electronic and other means, to engage in covert activities whenever the police believe that there is 'good cause' or 'specific information' or a 'threat' of criminal conduct," and there is no "effective accountability and independent review by a civilian review board."*

*These same issues are also being debated in Chicago, where two class-action challenges to investigations by the local Red Squad were commenced in the mid-1970s and where settlements have also recently been proposed. Unlike the New York case, however, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency were also defendants in Chicago, and the proposed settlement is the first of its kind against those agencies.*

*The debate has become increasingly acrimonious, and threatens to divide liberals and radicals and other individuals and groups who should be united in their defense of the First Amendment; these are not times for heated factiousness on the left. Nevertheless, we realize that there are issues on which there can be sincere disagreement and which can be clarified by discussion. Similar debates over tactics and strategy are likely to arise among political activists in other areas of resistance to future political repression in the Reagan years. Therefore, as a sort of preview cum demonstration, we have invited spokesmen for the opposing positions in Chicago to present their views in fuller measure. Richard Gutman, who helped to negotiate the settlement, is an attorney with the Alliance to End Repression; Brian Glick and Flint Taylor, attorneys with the People's Law Center, represent some of the objectors.*

*—The Editors*

---

## RICHARD GUTMAN

In order to evaluate intelligently the proposed Chicago and New York settlements, one must first understand the current state of the law regarding governmental political espionage. Although intentional disruption of lawful political activity is already clearly illegal, the legality of political spying is, at best, murky. There are no enforceable statutes limiting Federal Bureau of Investigation or Central Intelligence Agency spying per se. Nor, except in Seattle, are there any state or municipal statutes restricting police spying. The few courts that have ruled on the matter have generally declared that spying per se is not illegal because no one is injured.

What then are the proper criteria to use in evaluating such out-of-court agreements? The principal criterion both legally and logically is to compare what was achieved through negotiations with what would likely have been achieved if the case had gone to trial. Given the current lack of legal precedents, the achievements of the Chicago negotiations are impressive: the first and only enforceable restrictions on C.I.A. and F.B.I. spying and a City of Chicago injunction containing the most restrictive limitations on political intelligence in the nation. In contrast, if the case were to come to trial, the current political atmosphere makes it extremely unlikely that any resulting comprehensive judicial limitation on C.I.A. or F.B.I. spying would survive appeals to the higher courts. Prospects are probably better for winning judicial restraints on agencies less involved with "national security," such as local police departments. Even here, plaintiffs must be careful to emphasize the broad nature of the groups spied upon. For example, it was my March 20, 1975, revelation that the Chicago Red Squad had infiltrated not only the Communist Party but also the Citizens Action Program and the Organization for a Better Austin which led to the November 1975 abolition of the Chicago Red Squad and the 1976 release of all of its files in entirely undeleted form.

A second criterion for judging out-of-court settlements is whether plaintiffs could win any additional major concessions if negotiations were to be reopened. The claim of objectors to our C.I.A. and F.B.I. agreements, which were signed during the waning days of the Carter Administration, that stronger terms could now be won from the Reagan Administration is misinformed, to say the least.

Reasonable people can disagree as to plaintiffs' prospects at trial or renegotiations. But merely to compare the current agreements with an objector's private "wish list" without any analysis of those prospects at trial is pure demogogy. Unfortunately, the objectors in Chicago have too often been guilty of such "leftist" political posturing as well as gross distortions of the actual terms of the agreements. Not surprisingly, on May 7, Federal Judge Susan Getzendanner re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jected all of the objections and announced her intention to sign the C.I.A. and F.B.I. agreements.

The agreements in the Chicago litigation come at an auspicious time. Never has the need been greater for legal remedies against the "intelligence" agencies. Today the United States faces the bleak prospect of a declining economic position in an increasingly competitive world capitalist system. In a desperate and ultimately futile effort to regain our nation's former economic predominance, the Reagan Administration appears committed to a policy of austerity for the poor, tax breaks for the rich and an escalation of the arms race for everyone. As these policies generate popular opposition, increased governmental repression will follow.

No doubt, as in the past, the "intelligence" agencies will play a key role in any coming campaign of repression. One hopes that the Chicago agreements will serve as precedents for similar lawsuits and for legislative efforts. For if the Chicago Police Department, the F.B.I. and the C.I.A. can live with such restrictions, what law-enforcement agency cannot? Such court orders will not halt government spying and disruption. But by making clearly illegal what was formerly of unclear legality, they create new legal tools for exposing and attacking future political spying. □

---

FLINT TAYLOR AND BRIAN GLICK

The sponsors of the Chicago class-action lawsuits against political spying and counterintelligence overrode protests by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund and other outraged activists to accept a settlement that paves the way for stepped-up attacks on radical and militant organizing. The suits originated at a time when the historic legitimacy of the country's political police had finally been breached. For a brief period in the mid-1970s, the F.B.I., the C.I.A. and local Red Squads stood revealed as little more than Gestapo in three-piece suits. Their own documents showed them to be burglars, vandals, perjurers, thugs and assassins. A blue-ribbon commission condemned the murder of Chicago Black Panther leader Fred Hampton as an illegal "search and destroy" mission. A select committee of the U.S. Senate found that under the secret Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO), Federal agents "took the law into their own hands and conducted a sophisticated vigilante operation" to "prevent the rise of a messiah" such as Hampton or Dr. Martin Luther King and to "destroy" the black movement by any means necessary.

Though legal action could not stop such operations, it had the potential to deepen the exposure of governmental terrorism, to identify and to punish the individuals responsible, to arouse public outrage and to show how little has changed since the formal retirement of COINTELPRO as the government's acronym for domestic counterinsurgency and its mechanism for coordinating it. The settlement achieved the opposite result. It pardoned the culprits without any trial or admission of guilt. No policy-makers, agents or informers were held publicly accountable for their crimes against the people. None of the government's murderous assaults on the black, Puerto Rican and Native American movements were even acknowledged. And everyone in Chicago, including Fred Hampton's family, may be precluded from pursuing similar legal claims.

Implicit in this "gentleman's agreement," and spelled out in its text, is the unmistakable message that the political police have reformed and can now be trusted. In return for such absolution, the C.I.A. has only to pledge obedience to the Constitution. The F.B.I. and the police also promised to leave the respectable left alone. They are not to surveil, harass or disrupt the Chicago-area activity of citizens who eschew any violation of U.S. criminal law, including the Smith Act, and any involvement with a foreign government or "international terrorism," defined to include virtually every national liberation struggle. This compromise reveals the limits of the F.B.I.'s highly touted reforms and helps isolate militants and radicals as "criminals" or "supporters of terrorism" who may legitimately be targeted for destruction. It represents a wrong and dangerous response to repression.

It is dangerous to accept the criminalization of those who have been systematically denied the means to change government policies and structures without civil disobedience and direct action. Such a stance would have let the political police crush every important progressive force in the history of this country, from the abolitionists and suffragists to the labor, civil rights and antiwar movements. It is wrong to endorse the propaganda that armed resistance to colonial and racist violence is terrorism. The settlement encourages the government to attack anyone who supports a liberation struggle, whether in El Salvador, Ireland, South Africa, Puerto Rico or our own ghettos, barrios and reservations. Nothing in the U.S. legal system mandates such concessions, since much support activity is protected by the First Amendment and no conduct may be punished without due process of law. The settlement reflects an opportunism that is bound to backfire. History repeatedly has shown that once the radicals are crushed, a reactionary

**EL SALVADOR:**
**The Roots of Intervention**

A special collection of *Nation* articles, including James Petras on the White Paper, is now available at bulk rates.

____ 10 copies $8 ____ 100 copies $50
____ 50 copies $30 ____ 1,000 copies $300

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make checks or money orders payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regime is free to stamp out all remaining dissent.

The rise of the right calls for open, aggressive, uncompromising struggle against all forms of repression. We need to defend the right to militant direct action, to expose the continuing thuggery and deceit of the political police and to resist forcefully every effort by Reagan and his cohorts to restore the pride and glory of the Nixon years. □

THE IMPORTANCE OF F.O.I.A.

# New Light on Old Black-Bag Jobs

ATHAN G. THEOHARIS

On September 22, 1975, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities (the Church Committee) requested from the Federal Bureau of Investigation a list of all "black-bag jobs"—break-ins involving domestic targets of investigations. Responding on September 23, 1975, the F.B.I. claimed that accurate statistics could not be provided because there was "no central index, file or document" listing break-ins. Drawing upon the "recollections" of agents, however, the F.B.I. admitted to "at least" 242 break-ins against "at least" eighteen targets and provided a list of these "specific targets." The F.B.I. claimed that "domestic security" break-ins had been terminated in July 1966, under orders from then Director J. Edgar Hoover.

The Bureau's responses to the Church Committee were misleading in several ways. First, the list of targets made no mention of the Socialist Workers Party and the Weather Underground, although there were several break-ins involving these groups after 1966. Either Hoover's July 1966 order was intended only as a cover-up, or senior F.B.I. officials were guilty of insubordination. At any rate, F.B.I. officials deliberately avoided putting break-in authorizations on paper. On December 1, 1972, for example, Associate Director W. Mark Felt seems to have suggested the use of illegal entry when he ordered F.B.I. field offices to "intensify" their investigations of the "Weatherman fugitive cases" by implementing "innovative techniques."

Second, the Department of Justice has recently admitted that between 1948 and 1966 the F.B.I. had committed "at least 500" break-ins directed at "approximately fifty targets" *in the Chicago area alone.* Conceivably, the number of break-ins was understated, having been based on "documentation [which] still exists. There may have been additional black-bag jobs, the documentation of which has been destroyed or cannot be located."

With that statement the Department of Justice had indirectly admitted not only that the numbers given the Church Committee in 1975 were low but also that break-in documents and files existed. And, third, contrary to the F.B.I.'s claims, it does have a numbered, indexed file on break-ins—or, as the department put it, "a symbol number sensitive source index maintained in the Intelligence Division."

Upon learning of the existence of the break-in file and documents and the index, I submitted a request for them under the Freedom of Information Act (F.O.I.A.) last February. I had also learned of a particular file on surreptitious entries. This came to light in a pretrial motion filed in May 1978 by former Acting F.B.I. Director L. Patrick Gray, who had been indicted with Felt and Edward Miller for authorizing illegal break-ins. Gray requested all documents "marked either 'June' and/or 'Do Not File' from the period January 1, 1960, to the present" and further demanded "F.B.I. files designated as '66-1686' (the 'June' file)."

The Bureau responded to my request for these documents on May 7, 1981. It advised me that the charge for fulfilling this request would be $33,000. Since the standard processing fee is 10 cents per page, one could only assume that there were 330,000 pages of documents relating to illegal break-ins in the Bureau's files. When the news of my discovery got out, the F.B.I. wrote to tell me there had been an "error." The 330,000 pages of documents were in an "informants" file, only "a minute part of which are actual 'break-in' documents, which irregularly appear throughout this file." Moreover, the files Gray cited with the 66-1686 serial number were actually an annual leave and payroll file that had been destroyed in 1951. Gray had made a mistake.

The F.B.I.'s explanation of this error is unconvincing. Gray might have miscited the "'June' file" serial number. Nonetheless, as the former Acting F.B.I. Director, he had direct knowledge of the existence of such a file. He also knew that before he became Acting F.B.I. Director in 1972, documents marked "June" or "Do Not File" had been placed in these files. From other F.B.I. documents, moreover, I had learned that break-in *policy* documents (as opposed to documents that the F.B.I. had obtained through a break-in) had been filed in the 66 file. These included: (*1*) a transmittal memorandum of July 23, 1950, forwarding the membership list and correspondence pertaining to membership of the National Lawyers Guild, which the F.B.I. had obtained through a break-in in Chicago, bearing the serial number 66 (the rest of the serial was deleted by the Bureau on "national security" grounds); and (*2*) memorandums dated December 1, 1975, and March 22, 1976, which referred to a burglary in New York City in October 1963 at the offices of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The latter had a full serial number—66-8160.

Thanks to the F.O.I.A., I had learned how misleading the F.B.I.'s responses to the Church Committee had been. There were and are documents, an index and a file; F.B.I. break-ins were conducted after 1966; the actual number of break-ins and targets vastly exceeded the figures of 242 and eighteen, and the F.B.I.'s list of "specific targets" should have included the Socialist Workers Party, the Weather

*Athan G. Theoharis is professor of history at Marquette University, author of* Spying on Americans *and editor of the forthcoming* Beyond the Hiss Case: the F.B.I., Congress and the Cold War *(both Temple University Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Underground, the American Youth Congress, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the American Peace Mobilization, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the National Lawyers Guild—to cite but some of the organizations that were absent from the F.B.I.'s 1975 list. (Having also been misled by the F B.I. in 1974-75 about the number of break-ins and the nonexistence of break-in documents, the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights has resumed its investigation of this issue and has already made preliminary contact with Bureau officials.)

In February 1980, Deputy C.I.A. Director Frank Carlucci, arguing for exempting intelligence agency files from the F.O.I.A., insisted that this would not immunize them from accountability. Intelligence agency officials were men and women of integrity, Carlucci averred; besides, there was Congressional oversight. The F.B.I.'s misleading responses to the Church Committee in 1975 invalidate both of Carlucci's arguments. Nor were the Bureau's responses without important policy consequences. By minimizing the number of black-bag jobs and stating that such operations were halted by Hoover's order in July 1966, the Bureau implied that no further measures were needed to deal with the problem. After all, break-ins had been limited, and self-discipline and professionalism and the waning of the cold war provided all the corrective that was needed.

There is, then, a linkage between current proposals to "unleash" the intelligence agencies and to exempt these agencies from the F.O.I.A. As independent research under the F.O.I.A. establishes, the F.B.I. cannot be trusted to regulate itself. Congress should reject both proposals. □

# Natural Gas

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

§ Decontrol of gas prices would instantly double the cost of gas to all consumers. It would halt conversions to gas, reduce gas sales, increase oil use—and so compound the nation's energy-inflation problem. [See Cook, "The Coming Catastrophe," *The Nation*, April 25.]

Basic to all of this, of course, is the issue of supply. Do we have an abundance of natural gas or don't we? Even as the House hearings were being held, Michael Halbouty of Houston, one of the nation's foremost energy experts and chairman of President Reagan's energy policy advisory task force during the campaign and the transition period, declared:

> The gas potential of the United States is almost beyond comprehension. It is completely safe to say we have enough gas to take us well into the twenty-first century. The consensus is that there are between 500 and 1,000 *trillion* cubic feet of natural gas yet to be discovered in the United States. This is *in addition to* our proved reserves of 195 *trillion* cubic feet. So there is in this country enough gas, discovered or discoverable, to support economic growth for the next thirty-five to fifty years, *at least*, and probably longer.

There was considerable support for Halbouty's statement in the testimony at the House subcommittee hearings. True, several witnesses downgraded the natural-gas figures, but, significantly, these lower estimates came mainly from spokesmen connected with the petroleum industry. Gas industry experts, citing recent and more reliable sources, put the nation's reserve-resource base at about 1,100 trillion cubic feet (t.c.f.). At the current annual consumption rate of nineteen to twenty t.c.f. this would last more than fifty years.

One of the most informed statements made at the hearings was that of Henry Taliaferro Jr., vice president of the GHK Companies in Oklahoma City. GHK is headed by Bob Hefner, pioneer driller of Oklahoma's huge Anadarko Basin and a man highly regarded in the industry as one of the nation's most knowledgeable gas developers. Taliaferro explained that oil and gas are different economically and geologically. Historically, these differences have been ignored in framing public policy. Policy has been dominated by considerations material to oil—not to natural gas. He added that, during the petroleum heyday of the 1950s, caps of natural gas were often found while drilling for oil. But oil was the thing—and natural gas, as far as the oil companies were concerned, was simply a byproduct.

But, unlike oil, great amounts of natural gas are trapped in deep geologic formations. GHK is now positioning a rig that can drill down to 50,000 feet. Natural gas "is pervasive in sedimentary rocks that underlie vast portions of the lower forty-eight United States," Taliaferro said. There are, he added, "thousands of cubic miles of deeper sediments where the search for nonassociated natural gas has just begun. . . . Today, wells being completed at [such] depths are among the most prolific of any in the United States, with reserve additions and deliverability at ten times the national average." Taliaferro summed up: "The choice for Americans today is domestic gas or foreign oil. We can curtail natural-gas markets and rely on higher oil imports. Or we can develop our domestic gas supplies. These supplies are cleaner burning and sufficient to displace nearly all foreign oil."

But expanding natural-gas consumption cannot take place if prices are too high, and Big Oil wants its accustomed fat profits. While there are far more independents in the natural-gas industry than in oil, the major oil companies still control an estimated 50 percent of production and distribution, and they demand that gas be priced on a "parity" with oil. They have a big financial stake in saddling the nation with a high bench-mark price for all energy. For one thing, the future of their grandiose plans for coal gasification and liquefaction depends upon it. The Department of Energy seems to share Big Oil's thinking on prices.

Two D.O.E. experts appearing at the hearings, Albert Linden and Kenneth Williams, agreed that there is a surplus of natural gas today, in part because "demand is constrained by prices." But when asked, "What can Congress do?"

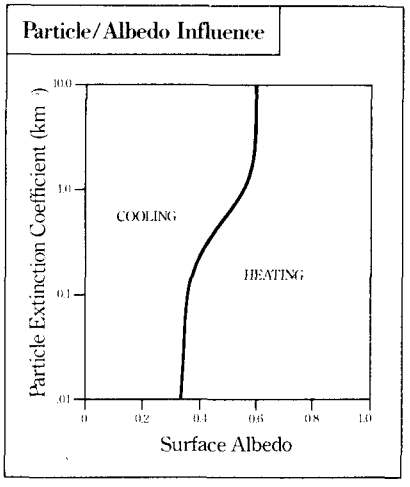
---

*Fred J. Cook, a regular contributor to* The Nation, *won the Newspaper Guild of New York 1980 "Page One" Award for Crusading Journalism for his series of articles on energy issues. Research support for this article was provided by the Fund for Investigative Journalism.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Albedo Effect

*Mathematical models of the atmosphere are the chief scientific tools for predicting long-term climate and identifying possible climatic changes that may result from man's activities. Recent advances at the General Motors Research Laboratories have revealed new information about the contribution of airborne particles to the delicate thermal balance of the earth's atmosphere.*




*Regions of heating and cooling determined by particle characteristics and surface albedo.*

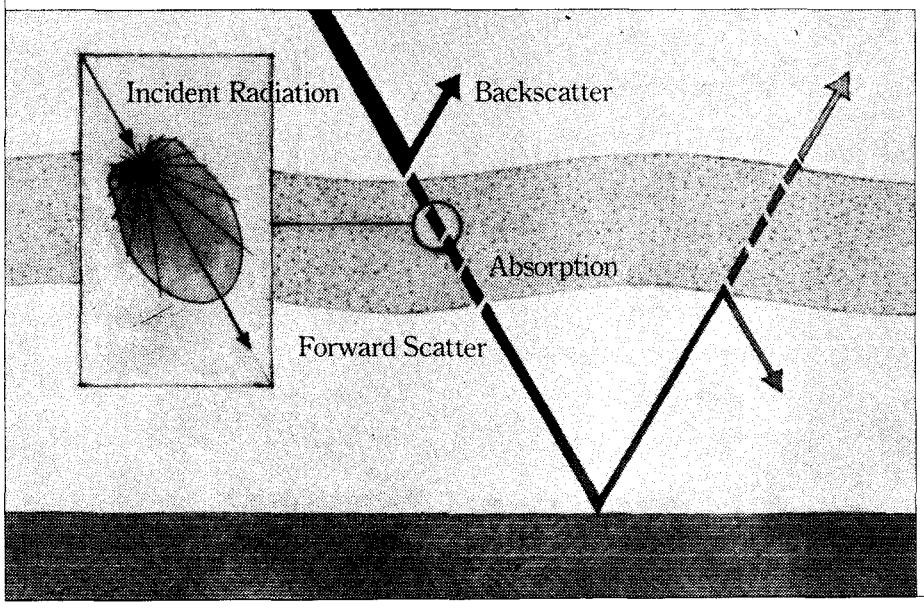
DEVOID of its atmosphere, the bare earth would reach an average temperature of only −1°C. Atmospheric interaction with solar and terrestrial radiation raises the average surface temperature to fifteen degrees Celsius, making life as we know it possible. Small fluctuations in overall temperature can have large-scale effects. It is believed that a drop of a few degrees Celsius lasting for a period as short as four years could trigger an ice age. Fundamental studies conducted at the General Motors Research Laboratories explore the effect of various atmospheric factors, natural and man-made, on the earth's thermal balance.

New knowledge of the influence of airborne particles on the earth's thermal balance has been revealed by investigations carried out by Dr. Ruth Reck. Dr. Reck's work at General Motors integrated for the first time the complex factor of particles into radiative-convective atmospheric models. Her findings help determine under what conditions particles have a cooling influence, and under what conditions they have a heating influence.

Airborne particles have many sources: volcanic issue, wind-raised dust and sea salt, ash, soot, direct and indirect products of combustion and industrial processing, the products of the decay of plant and animal life, the liquid droplets and ice crystals that make up clouds. Particles alter the radiation flow in the atmosphere by the processes of scattering and absorption. Particles differ by size and composition, factors which determine optical properties.

Prior to Dr. Reck's work, models for calculating the vertical temperature profile included layers of clouds and the significant gases—$O_2$, $O_3$, $H_2O$ and $CO_2$—but neglected the particle factor. To establish the thermal effect of particles, later models assumed a uniform vertical temperature change.

Dr. Reck's contribution was to add the particle factor to a one-dimensional model developed at the Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory at Princeton University. This model divides the atmosphere into nine layers. An initial temperature distribution is assumed, and the model is used to compute the net radiative energy




*Radiation scattering exhibited by a layer of particles. The inset shows the distribution of scattering by a single particle of mean size.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flow into or out of each layer. A particle population is input for each layer. Calculated radiation imbalances result in a temperature change for each layer within the model, subject to the condition that change in temperature with altitude not exceed the adiabatic lapse rate. The new temperatures are used to compute a new radiation balance. This process is repeated until there are no further changes in temperature.

The particles of interest, known as Mie-scattering aerosols, are comparable in size to the wavelength of the incident radiation. Dr. Reck models the interaction of these particles with the radiation field in terms of two parameters: the single scattering albedo of the particle, which describes backscatter, and an anisotropic scattering factor, which measures the degree of forward scatter. From these two quantities and the size distribution and abundance of the particles, the transmission, absorption and backscatter of each layer in the model can be calculated.

DR. RECK discovered that whether particles have a heating or cooling influence depends upon the surface albedo, or reflective power, of the earth directly beneath them. Snow (0.6) is more reflective than sand (0.3); water is less reflective than either (0.07). Her results indicate that when surface albedo is small, the net effect of particles is to "shield" the earth from incoming solar radiation, producing a cooling influence. When surface albedo is large, a trapping effect prevails, in which the portion of solar radiation that reaches the earth's surface is "trapped" between the surface and the particles, producing a net heating influence. The competition between these two effects, shielding and trapping, determines the overall thermal influence of particles.

Dr. Reck calculated that for the latitudes between the equator and 35°N, where average surface albedo is low, the current background level of atmospheric particles decreases solar radiation reaching the earth by ~1%, thus producing a net cooling effect. Her findings indicate that heating takes place at latitudes north of 55°N, where average surface albedo is high. Calculations with the model indicate a correlation between the increase in particle abundance due to volcanic activity in 1970 and a subsequent ice build-up in 1971.

"Previous models did not adequately take into account the role played by particles in the earth's thermal balance," says Dr. Reck. "The geosystem is continually changing. It is important for us to understand the elements that affect this evolution, so that we may know how man's activities influence the atmosphere."

## THE WOMAN BEHIND THE WORK

Dr. Ruth Reck is a Staff Research Scientist in the Physics Department at the General Motors Research Laboratories.

Dr. Reck received her Ph.D in physical chemistry from the University of Minnesota. Her thesis, on the statistical mechanics of heterogeneous systems, concerned the theory of diffusion-controlled chemical reactions. Prior to joining General Motors in 1965, she was a Research Associate in the Applied Mathematics Department of Brown University.

In addition to global climate studies, Dr. Reck has done research at General Motors in solid state physics and magnetic materials. Over the last seven years, she has participated in several international exchange programs on climate-related subjects.

GM General Motors
People building transportation to serve people

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Williams replied: "Price incentives. Deregulate." Having offered the solution that flew in the face of the cause, Williams expanded: "We expect demand to decline as prices continue to rise. With rising prices, people are going to find other ways to heat instead of using gas." Linden's remarks followed the Big Oil-D.O.E. party line: "We see coal on a B.T.U. [British thermal unit] equivalent as being twice as cheap as gas."

This doubtless was cheering news to the major oil companies, which own most of the nation's coal reserves and which, under the Carter Administration, determined policies and practically ran the Energy Department [see Cook, "Big Oil's Washington Subsidiary," *The Nation,* December 29, 1979]. Congressmen at the hearing indicated some skepticism about the department's testimony. Linden was asked, for example, "What if we decided to use more natural gas to reduce imports of foreign oil?" He replied: "We can make a study of it." It seemed obvious that this obvious question had never occurred to him before.

Representative W.J. (Billy) Tauzin, Democrat of Louisiana, pointed out that gas-fired utilities would soon be facing a deadline if they are required to stop using gas and switch to coal by 1990 under the formula set down in the Fuel Use Act. Representative James Collins, Republican of Texas, said that the use of coal requires an entirely different type of plant, and that it would cost utilities now using gas $50 billion to convert. The switch to oil would be comparatively simple, but, Tauzin pointed out, "if you have to burn high-priced oil, utility bills would soar." He wanted to know if restrictions on gas use by utilities after 1990 should be lifted and the unanimous answer was: "Yes."

Collins pressed the witnesses. Was there any danger of more natural-gas shortages like those in the bitter winter of 1977, when 1.2 million workers in the industrial Midwest were thrown out of jobs—and when, incidentally, gas wells were capped all over the Gulf of Mexico until prices were raised? Linden was still the ultimate pessimist where gas was concerned. No, he conceded, there was no danger of such a shortage now, "but if we had a continuous cold winter, it could be." It was an answer that seemed to contradict all other testimony that drillers have surpluses they cannot sell and that huge deep-level basins are continually coming on line.

Having talked to Bob Hefner about the Anadarko Basin, Collins suggested that as drillers went below 15,000 feet, pressures increased that produce "enormous amounts of gas." Linden agreed. Hefner had estimated, Collins said, that the Anadarko alone contains between 60 and 100 trillion cubic feet of gas. "And that's in just this one basin," Collins emphasized. "Yes, we are seeing a lot of re-evaluations," Linden admitted weakly.

In bold contrast to Linden's caution was the testimony of George Lawrence, president of the American Gas Association. "Resource base estimates for U.S. conventional recoverable natural gas," he said, "range generally from 700 to 1,100 t.c.f., some 35 to 55 times current production levels. The more recent and well-known estimates are in the higher range, with older, less reliable estimates in the lower range."

He confirmed other testimony that gas consumption has been flat, which was indicative of a weak market. Though there have been some 400,000 residential conversions to gas in each of the last two years, residential consumption has not increased, he said, attributing the lag to conservation measures and more efficient appliances. The utilities have held back because of uncertainty about the future of the Fuel Use Act, and commercial and industrial users have also been slow to adopt gas, probably because of the present glut of heavy residual oils, which are being sold cheaper than gas. And in big commercial and industrial plants, management can switch from one fuel to the other by simply throwing a switch.

Given this situation, Lawrence saw "an urgent need to repeal unreasonable natural-gas demand restraints," so that utilities and commercial and industrial establishments could make fuller use of the available gas supplies. Unlike industrial witnesses, however, Lawrence strongly opposed any immediate decontrol of gas prices. He separated the two parts of the problem in this fashion:

> The immediate removal of most restraints of gas use by industry and electric power plants should result in gas further backing-out oil imports. This policy would soften an already soft world oil market, resulting in slower oil price increases. Finally, immediate, complete deregulation of natural gas would shock the domestic gas market because most gas purchase contracts contain terms that require gas prices to escalate suddenly and rapidly upon deregulation—to prices well in excess of free market levels. . . . Indeed, A.G.A. estimates that gas prices will double to all classes of consumers if all wellhead gas prices were immediately deregulated. This shock will, therefore, reduce gas sales and increase oil use, which will in turn cause higher world oil prices and domestic gas prices . . . A.G.A. analysis shows that total, immediate deregulation would cause the loss of 1.9 t.c.f. of gas load, increasing oil imports 800,000 barrels/day."

Lawrence explained that natural gas has many uses besides heating and that supplies are adequate to take full advantage of them. Among these uses are gas air-conditioning; gas-fired cogeneration in residential, commercial and industrial buildings; gas use in urban transportation vehicles sufficient to justify the cost of converting them, and the selective use of gas in boilers in conjunction with coal conversion. His most startling recommendation involved the use of natural gas in liquid form to replace gasoline in automobiles:

> The use of compressed natural gas in automobiles seems well justified on both a cost and environmental basis. Methane, either natural gas or synthetic gas, has three major advantages over gasoline and diesel fuel as an alternative fuel: (*a*) it is more economical; (*b*) it is cleaner burning and; (*c*) it is principally domestic. The primary current disadvantages of methane in transportation (which can be overcome) are range and refueling limitations.

Summing up, Lawrence said that, out of a total of 8.4

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

million barrels per day of crude oil consumed in non-transportation uses in 1979, "about 5.5 million barrels of oil equivalent/day could technically have been replaced by gas."

Lawrence's testimony, so explicit in contrast to the halting and fumbling circumlocutions of D.O.E. witnesses, was supported by that of drillers with practical experience in the fields. Thomas Vessels Jr., president of Vessels Oil & Gas Company of Denver, said that the very weak demand for natural gas had forced his firm to shut down eight wells in the Rocky Mountain area. Drillers in Ohio and Pennsylvania, he said, sometimes were tied up for three months because pipelines were so full they could not handle any more gas. Vessels estimated that there are at least forty wells that could be drilled that would give adequate production, but the market in southeastern Colorado is too weak to justify drilling for two reasons: lack of pipeline connections and inadequate demand, which in turn discourages new pipeline connections. He asserted that there are "large areas relatively unexplored for gas."

H.E. (Gene) Wright, president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, said the Carter Administration's contention that we were running out of gas supplies has been "totally defeated." He testified that there are 3,850 rigs now drilling in the nation, a record number, but that "only 3 percent or so of sediments have been tested so far."

Criticism of the low estimates of gas resources that have been accepted in the past was leveled by Harry Kent, director of the authoritative Potential Gas Agency of the Colorado School of Mines, who estimated U.S. total resources and proven reserves at about 1,100 t.c.f.—"on the order of twice all U.S. production to date."

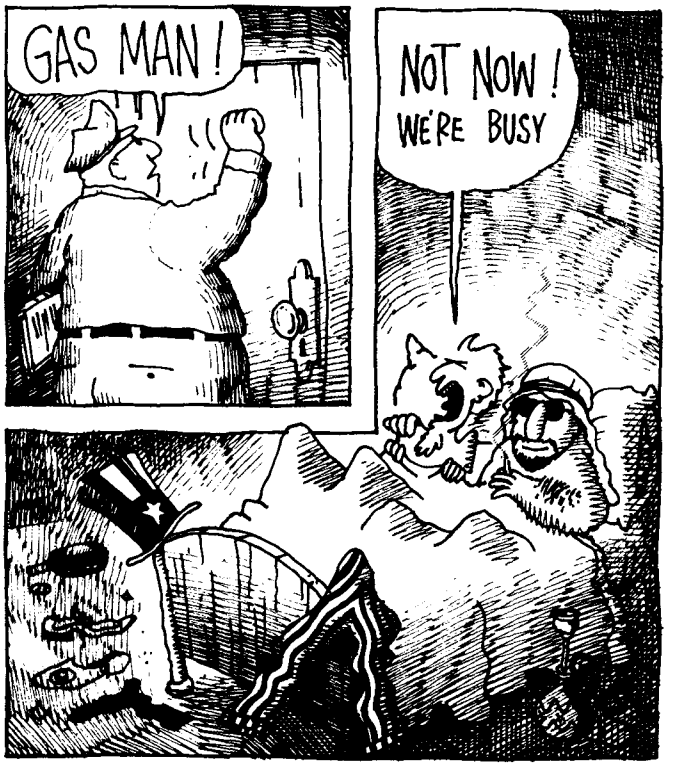
Even more bullish was Dr. Charles Mankin, director of the Oklahoma Geological Survey: "My own view is that the resource base is substantially larger than estimated by my two colleagues." Mankin ticked off the huge natural-gas basins that are now in production and have only been partially explored: the Anadarko, the Williston in Wyoming and the Tuscaloosa Trend, which runs for some 200 miles across Louisiana and along the Louisiana and Texas Gulf Coasts. He concluded: "I guess my view would be that the figures presented here would be some sort of minimal figures for supply."

Representative Tauzin pointed out that in the Louisiana section of the Tuscaloosa Trend, "we have produced from only about 15 percent of the known structures, and we have tested only about 15 percent of all the structures."

In light of the overwhelming agreement among the experts, Representative Mike Synar, Democrat of Oklahoma, asked GHK's Taliaferro: "Then the official figures don't present an accurate picture?" Taliaferro said they didn't. That brought the hearing around to the question of pricing. Under the Carter Administration's 1978 Natural Gas Policy Act, ceilings were lifted on all gas produced from drilling below 15,000 feet—a provision that spurred much of the present deep-drilling—but prices on older wells were kept on a graduated scale that averages out to some $2.37 per thousand cubic feet. Under the 1978 act, all ceilings would be lifted by 1985. Representative Tom Corcoran, Republican of Illinois, pointed out that when the act was passed, "it was assumed that crude oil prices would be $15 a barrel." (Spontaneous laughter.) Corcoran continued: "Unless we act to revise the schedule now, it will be almost irresistible in 1984 for Congress to impose controls again." It was a suggestion that sank quietly, causing nary a ripple.

Synar later pursued the price issue with Taliaferro. "How can you charge $7 per thousand cubic feet [m.c.f.] if there is a surplus?" he asked. (Actually, his figure was low. At this same time, Brent Petroleum Industries in Louisiana was announcing that it expected to bring four gas wells on line July 1 under "take or pay" clauses that would price 44 million can you charge $7 per thousand cubic feet [m.c.f.] if there is question, Taliaferro commented: "If artificial demand restraints were removed now, the market will clear and prices will moderate substantially." He was asked: "If you are right, how long would it take for the market to settle down?" Taliaferro answered: "1985." He added that he thought "the hazards would be much less in 1985 than today."

Such is the overall picture emerging from the hearings. The overwhelming weight of the evidence is that we have abundant supplies of natural gas—how abundant cannot be said definitively because it is only within the last two years that we have even begun to try to find out. In retrospect, it is clear that President Carter's 1977 legislative program was based on a willful underestimation of America's natural-gas supplies. The Administration had delivered itself into the hands of Big Oil and was determined to pursue the cripplingly expensive mirages of nuclear power and synthetic fuels (mainly coal gasification and liquefaction, which were and are primary goals of Big Oil), and so it underestimated natural-gas supplies.




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now that the real facts about these supplies are becoming clear, the question remains: What do we do now that we know? Certainly the entire thrust of the testimony before the subcommittee, headed by Representative Philip Sharp, Democrat of Indiana, was that restraints on the use of natural gas by utilities and commercial and industrial establishments should be lifted at once. It makes no sense to have surpluses we cannot use and to continue, at the same time, paying the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries extortionate rates for crude oil, leaving us with a $20-billion-a-year deficit in international trade.

But the next big, unanswered question is: What do we do about natural-gas prices? Do we yield to oil industry demands that natural gas be priced on a "parity" with oil? Can we really expect that decontrol will create "a free market" operating on the old law of "supply and demand"? That law was exposed as a myth when the Ford Administration decontrolled fuel oil prices in 1976, and again, more recently, when President Reagan decontrolled all oil prices. The instant such decontrols went into effect, the all-powerful oil cartel boosted prices far beyond anything that had been predicted by free-market devotees.

What, then, will Congress do? Given the disinclination of both the Reagan Administration and Congress itself to get embroiled in another fight besides those raging on the budget and tax reform, the answer is that it will probably do nothing. Yet if Congress does not act to keep natural-gas prices at a reasonable level, it will have bought an idiocy. It has been told plainly that the natural-gas market is "soft" today, in part because prices are already too high and surplus gas cannot be marketed. So what is the solution? To let gas prices climb ever higher in a market already dampened by existing prices? Perhaps Lewis Carroll had it right in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: "'A slow sort of country,' said the Queen. 'Now, *here*, you see, it takes all the running you can do, to keep in the same place." □

# LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 34*)
bottom of the socioeconomic scale who have already been victimized by drastic cuts in human services.

*Benedict S. Alper*
*Professor of Criminology*
*Boston College*

### ELSHTAIN REPLIES

*Amherst, Mass.*
Raymond Bilodeau is angry that I wrote the article I did rather than the one he would have preferred I write. Frankly, I don't understand why he fails to appreciate that we are on the same side: both of us believe the mentally ill and mentally handicapped are ill served. Both of us find institutionalization as a "solution" destructive. But Bilodeau seems to believe that "pointing the finger of blame" exclusively at health-care professionals is the explanation for why things got so horrible, and that confronting these professionals and shaming them into better behavior is the solution. This strikes me as considerably more utopian than developing strong political efforts for the mentally ill and retarded—something parents and other advocacy groups are and have been doing—to gain clout on their behalf. My hunch is that an increasingly visible effort along these lines would enlist the support of a good many professionals in the field; indeed, this has already happened on a small scale. This seems a more coherent approach than forcing a mass *mea culpa* from the professionals and their organizations. Finally, on the issue of individual rights, I suggest Bilodeau review the arguments for deinstitutionalization, including those made by patients themselves; I think he will find that a focus on "rights" is one of the most salient features of such arguments. In a constitutional system this makes sense even if the full range of issues involved in the debate cannot be encompassed within a concern for rights.

I am sorry that Professor Alper thinks I misrepresented his position on deinstitutionalization. I enlisted his words in my articulation of the argument *for* community care because he is such a strong advocate of deinstitutionalization across the board. Nowhere did I accuse him of sentimentality; rather, I indicated that proponents of institutional care see many advocates of community-based care in that light.

*Jean Bethke Elshtain*

### THE LOGIC OF DOOMSDAY

*South Lake Tahoe, Calif.*
Tom Powers's review of *National Defense* by James Fallows ["Pentagon's Nervous Breakdown," *The Nation*, June 6] is an elegant and welcome summary of the recent developments in Pentagon history, whereby America is purchasing less security for more money. Several points, however, presented as "melancholy fact," reflect views which I must refute. War is not "the central theme of our history as a species." Imperialistic habits of thought perhaps continue to blind our society to the inescapable fact that many and various strands of the human race never knew war. Many who practiced its "arts," for that matter, conceived of it very differently from the way our culture has.

More important, let me repeat what bears repetition: there is definitely *no* "common sense and proportion," especially with regard to nuclear strategy. *The Nation* itself has helped me to understand this, most notably with the issue devoted to the essay by E.P. Thompson ["A Letter to America," Jan. 24]. The position the world is in today is the inevitable result of the existence of nuclear weapons, for the logic of their technological development has brought us to this fearful moment. The only possible alternative to doomsday is exactly what Powers implies is there "to transcend"—namely, "universal disarmament, the abolition of war and the brotherhood of man." We will continue to come back to this imperative of total disarmament because nothing short of it can ever take us away from the brink. Furthermore, time is overtaking us. Is it not amazing to contemplate an experiment in limited nuclear war on the continent of Europe? Can humanity countenance such an event? The answer, my friends, is blowing in the wind.

*Daniel Rosen*

### INTELLECTUALS AMONG THE RUINS

*New York City*
William A. Dorman's exposé of the promotion of the late Shah by the Aspen Institute ["Did the Aspen Institute 'Front' for the Shah?" *The Nation*, June 20] is wound up disconcertingly by two theses: one, that "the intellectual community has a distinct responsibility" for cultural exchanges even with dictatorships, and two, that there is a need for "ground rules" to prevent such aberrations as the Aspen/Iran symposium. It would seem to me that the intellectual community has a responsibility to *expose* dictatorships, not to add to the respectability our government tries to lend them. And as for the lack of "ground rules" which got all those intellectuals to Persepolis, their innocence seems somewhat disingenuous. One did not have to be an intellectual even to smell the phoniness of that and so many other kindred symposiums, congresses and other gatherings where the invitations and the stationery are embossed and beautiful, the programs glossy but somewhat lacking in substance and the lavishness of the functions and entertainments in direct proportion to the misery and poverty of the inhabitants.

*Hans Koning*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BOOKS & THE ARTS.

## Sister Carrie's Chaperones

RICHARD LINGEMAN

SISTER CARRIE. *The Pennsylvania Edition. By Theodore Dreiser. University of Pennsylvania Press. 679 pp. $40. Paper $14.95.*

The story of *Sister Carrie*'s alleged suppression by its publisher in 1900 is among the most famous in our literary history. Yet all the details will probably never be known, will likely remain locked in the original manuscript, like a mastodon preserved in ice. Bound in five volumes and now kept in the New York Public Library's Manuscript Division, the pages of yellow copy paper on which Theodore Dreiser wrote his penciled first drafts are glazed and neatly mounted on heavy paper. Now a group of literary archeologists from the University of Pennsylvania have taken us back as close as we are likely to get to the living origins of Dreiser's great novel, a pivotal work in twentieth-century American literature. They have cleaned away the encrustations of time and other hands, and revealed *Sister Carrie* in its earliest, purest form.

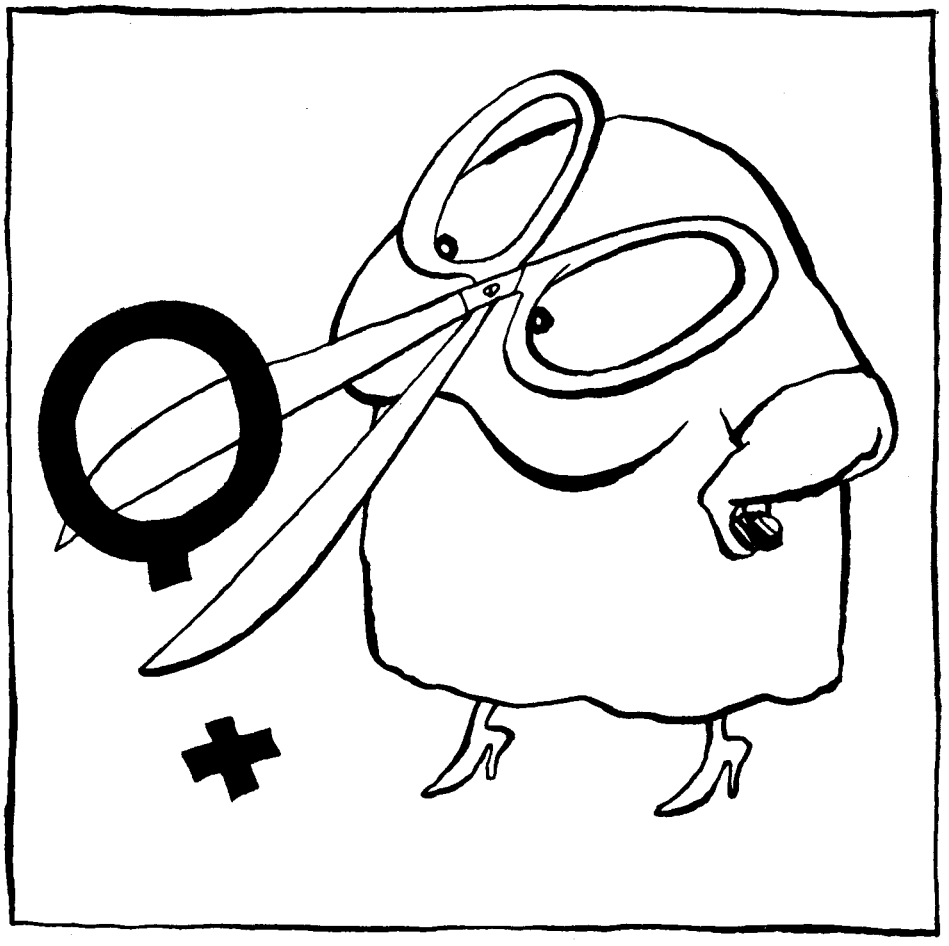
There is a legend attached to the book's hard birth that, like all legends, served a purpose. The story that Dreiser told and embroidered over the years was that publisher Frank Doubleday (or his wife, in later versions) read the typescript after it had already been accepted by other members of the house and found it immoral. When Dreiser refused to release Doubleday, Page from its contract, the latter set out to bury the book; first it was bound in an ugly red binding, then literally hidden in the basement of the firm's offices, where it could be furtively purchased by cognoscenti of smut. But then, the legend goes on, Dreiser heroically rescued his book from the Doubleday dungeon by buying up the plates, found another publisher and, in 1907, was vindicated when a fresh generation of young people took up *Sister Carrie* as a clean and strong statement of the new American realism.

*Richard Lingeman, executive editor of* The Nation, *is writing a biography of Theodore Dreiser for G.P. Putnam's Sons.*

It did not happen quite that way, of course. The publisher seems to have performed to the letter the author's contract (which was signed *after* Doubleday had said he didn't want to publish the book; prior to that there was only a letter of intent to publish). The book was available to the trade, if not touted to the skies. More than a hundred review copies were sent out by Frank Norris, author of *McTeague* and *The Pit*, who was employed as a reader by Doubleday, Page and who had discovered *Sister Carrie* and urged its publication. The novel's failure shattered Dreiser's inflated dreams of literary fame; it sold only 500 copies. Financially strapped, his marriage shaky, unable to work on his second novel, he had a nervous collapse. He abandoned literature and went on to become a successful editor of *The Delineator*, a genteel magazine for young women. It was not until 1911 that he published his second novel, *Jenny Gerhardt*.

With a publisher that was pushing *Sister Carrie* into the marketplace with a ten-foot pole, Dreiser had only his wife and Arthur Henry to help him. Henry, the author's closest friend at the time, had urged him to write a novel. Sara White Dreiser, nicknamed "Jug," was more than two years older than her husband, and they had been married less than a year when Dreiser scrawled the title on his yellow copy paper. Jug, a well-bred, intelligent small-town girl from Missouri, had waited seven years for Dreiser to marry her; at the altar, he was already consumed by doubts, and later said that he had married her out of "the pale flame of duty." Yet she was pretty, ardent sexually, and he deeply needed the mothering and support she gave him. As for Henry, their friendship was also a kind of romance, which, like most of Dreiser's many romances, ended badly.

And so this passionately embroiled trio were intimately wedded to the birth and progress of Carrie Meeber, the "half-equipped little knight," "the wait amid forces," set adrift in the incandes-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cent allure of Chicago. Without either of them, Dreiser probably could not have written her story. Henry cajoled him into beginning it, read it in progress and bucked him up when he faltered. Jug provided home comforts and even paced the floor with him on nights when the *furor scribendi* wouldn't release him. Dreiser was writing a profoundly original, even subversive book. Gloomy even then, his mood-swings must have worn a trench between elation and despair.

## CUTS FROM SISTER CARRIE

*Examples of the material restored in the Pennsylvania Edition (shown in bold-face type).*

Hurstwood loved to go out and have a good time once in awhile—to go to the races, the theatres, the sporting entertainments at some of the clubs **and those more unmentionable resorts of vice—the gilded chambers of shame with which Chicago was then so liberally cursed.**

ꝏ

"You haven't anything on hand for the night, have you?" added Hurstwood.

"Not a thing!"

"Well, come round then."

**"Is she a blonde?" said Drouet laughing.**

**"Come around about twelve," said Hurstwood, ignoring the question.**

ꝏ

**Hurstwood began to look again into the eyes of women and to take cognizance of the pleasures of the tenderloin.**

ꝏ

**In another factory Carrie was leered upon by a most sensual-faced individual who endeavored to turn the natural questions of the inquiry into a personal interview, asking all sorts of embarrassing questions and endeavoring to satisfy himself evidently that she was of loose enough morals to suit his purpose. In that case she had been relieved enough to get away and found the busy, indifferent streets to be again a soothing refuge.**

Jug and Henry left visible tracks on the growing pile of yellow pages on Dreiser's desk. The editors of the Pennsylvania Edition have provided the fullest account yet of their considerable editorial contributions. What Dreiser thought of this help remains a mystery. He never acknowledged Henry's role until 1916, in a letter to H. L. Mencken: "After it was done considerable cutting was suggested by Henry and this was done. I think all of 40,000 words came out." Beyond this mention, he never seems to have regarded Henry's work as other than the welcome performance of a necessary editorial chore. As for Jug, he never mentioned her part in the book at all. They separated, with some bitterness on both sides, in 1911, mainly because of Dreiser's philandering—"varietism" he called it. He lost his job at *The Delineator* in part because of a near-demented and largely one-sided grand passion for the 18-year-old daughter of one of his employees.

Since after the breakup Jug refused to speak about their married life, we have no idea of her feelings about *Sister Carrie* while it was being written. The editor and sexual raconteur Frank Harris, who knew Dreiser, reports that she complained of the book's "immoralities," and an early biographer, Dorothy Dudley, mentions a friend of the couple's who attributed tensions between them to Jug's attempt to rewrite *Jenny Gerhardt*. The first anecdote tells us that Jug was strait-laced, but little of what she did regarding *Sister Carrie*; the second suggests that she took an active interest in Dreiser's writing.

At any rate, Jug's hand is significantly evident at the manuscript stage. Although she mainly corrected grammar and spelling, she also rewrote certain passages. Some of these rewrites involved recasting Dreiser's backward-running sentences. Thus, the Dreiserian locution, "Where the jewelry was there also she lingered," was recast by Jug to read, "She lingered in the jewelry department." In several places, though, Jug's small-town morality was affronted, and she transformed styling into substance. Describing Carrie's blooming after she became a kept woman of the genial drummer, Charlie Drouet, Dreiser wrote in the manuscript: "She wore excellent corsets and laced herself with care . . . she had always been of cleanly instincts and now that opportunity afforded, she kept her body sweet." Jug removed the intimate references; perhaps subconsciously, she was exorcising all hints that Carrie had a sexual nature.

If Jug seems to have played the part of a schoolmarm civilizing the rough young genius from Terre Haute, Indiana, Henry played a more open editorial role—some rewriting and major cutting. These took place on the typescript that was prepared for submission to a publisher. He also fortuitously deserted his wife for a woman named Anna Mallon, who happened to run a typing service, and Dreiser was able to feed completed chapters to Mallon's typists at practically no charge. Reprinted in the Pennsylvania Edition is a charming note the girls in the typing pool sent the writer with the next-to-last batch of completed manuscript. "Dear Mr. Author," they wrote. "We have finished the last iniquitous chapter of Sister Carrie, and now are ready for something hot and sizzling. So please send her down. Impatiently, THE INFANT CLASS." Apparently, working girls liked Carrie, but their discernment that the book was "iniquitous" should have tipped Dreiser off that this was precisely a book from which the guardians of morality would "protect" young women at all costs.

The storm clouds loomed up soon after Dreiser submitted the typescript to Harper & Brothers. In a rejection letter dated May 2, the editor praised the book's "reportorial realism," but was offended by the "handling of the theme." The author's touch, the Harper reader declared,

> is neither firm enough nor sufficiently delicate to depict without offense to the reader the continued illicit relations of the heroine. . . . I cannot conceive of the book arousing the interest or inviting the attention, after the opening chapters, of the feminine readers who control the destinies of so many novels.

After the rejection the typescript was sent to Doubleday, Page, a new and therefore supposedly more liberal house that had published *McTeague* the year before and had Zola under contract. But before sending it off, Dreiser, Henry and Jug set to work to make *Sister Carrie* publishable, the Pennsylvania Edition editors theorize. Dreiser, presaging the authorial habits of a lifetime, delegated the job of cutting to the dilettantish Henry. The dreamer in Henry skimmed over the dark Dreiserian seas like a catamaran

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

before the wind; the man of affairs, however, sought to contrive a devil's bargain with the forces of morality that would make *Carrie* acceptable and salable, while honoring his friend's intentions.

And so Henry was turned loose on the typescript like a bloodhound, to sniff out questionable passages and scenes, as well as to speed up the story. He indicated suggested cuts with penciled brackets; Dreiser performed the actual surgery with a heavy black pencil. Some of Henry's cuts were substantial, involving several book pages; nevertheless, Dreiser approved nearly all of them. Then Henry and Dreiser worked to bridge the gaps of excised materials with the necessary transitions, though not much recasting seems to have been necessary—perhaps because Dreiser's prose was so obese and Henry's cutting so skillful.

It was a top-notch job of editing. The cuts do speed up the narrative, and eliminate some of Dreiser's more awkward philosophical asides, as well as characters and scenes that were peripheral to the main story. But Henry achieved his aim at considerable cost in characterization and motivation, removing several key passages of introspection and inner debate by Carrie and her lover, George W. Hurstwood. His overriding purpose was clearly to eliminate all references, however indirect, to the characters' sexual behavior or feelings. Even a flat statement of an immoral relationship had to go, such as Carrie musing that "a little living with" Drouet had convinced her she didn't love him; even slightly critical remarks about the marital state were dropped.

So well did Henry do his job that Frank Doubleday had only a few "By the Lord's" to complain about. The publishers did, apparently, remove two references to a "lavatory," and the adjective "naked" in a description of a painted cupid; Carrie's nuptial night with Hurstwood is rewritten so that they marry before consummation rather than the following day, as Dreiser originally wrote it. There were no explicit sexual scenes to cut: Dreiser was not that daring and indeed, in the freer air of the 1930s, when he wrote several bedroom scenes for *The Stoic,* they were more rhetoric than description.

The editors of the Pennsylvania Edition have restored all the cuts, and rejected most of Jug and Henry's rewrites, except where the change is clearly necessary—spelling, obvious grammatical errors, confused sentences and the like. Their most controversial editorial decision, they acknowledge, is to restore the ending that Dreiser originally wrote.

The published version of the novel culminates with a scene of Carrie sitting alone in her room in a rocking chair, "singing and dreaming." As she sits there, a kind of disembodied voice lectures the reader: she could not help her immoral life, she was seeking good and beauty, not evil, and though she will continue to dream of beauty lying just over the next hill, never will she find happiness. The final paragraph is a coda beginning, "Oh, Carrie! Carrie! Oh, blind strivings of the human heart!" And so we take leave of Carrie, now chastened but still a dreamer.

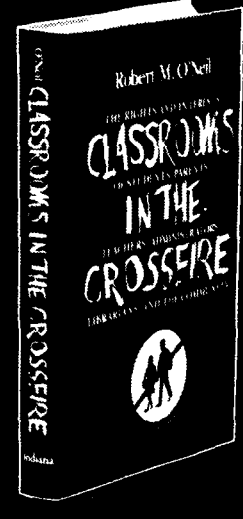
In the original manuscript, a truncated version of the "blind strivings" coda appears, but at the end of an earlier chapter. It closes a long conversation between Carrie and Bob Ames, a clean-cut Midwestern inventor who is intellectually superior to Drouet and Hurstwood. There is clearly a spark of sexual attraction between them. The implication is that Carrie will ascend to the next rung of growth and perhaps marry Ames. Ames, too, clears the slate of any reservations about Carrie's impropriety:

> What Mrs. Vance had told him about her husband's having disappeared, together with all he felt concerning the moral status of certain types of actresses, fled. There was something exceedingly human and unaffected about this woman—something which craved neither money nor praise. He followed her to the door—wide awake to her beauty.

The coda follows, suggesting that Carrie will continue her search for beauty through Ames—but will never find it.

The last chapter tracks Hurstwood's downward spiral. It ends with his suicide. "In that kindness which is night," he folds his coat, stuffs it under the door of his flophouse room and turns on the gas. On that somber note, one of the most moving passages in all our literature, Dreiser ends his book. But the very power and finality of the scene points up the fundamental flaw in the novel's last half. As Mencken phrased it, *Sister Carrie* "had a broken back. In the midst of the story of Car-

THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS
CLASSROOMS
OF STUDENTS, PARENTS,
IN THE
TEACHERS, ADMINISTRATORS,
CROSSFIRE
LIBRARIANS, AND THE COMMUNITY




By Robert M. O'Neil

"O'Neil, president of the University of Wisconsin, has . . . combine[d] a distinguished career as an academic administrator and as a teacher of law with an astonishingly prolific production of intelligent books and articles about some of the central civil liberties questions of our time. Here, his focus is on the application of the First Amendment to current controversies involving schools and libraries. . . . O'Neil discusses . . . thorny questions lucidly and knowledgeably." —*The Nation* ". . . [a] solid volume . . . a valuable resource." —*Kirkus Reviews* ". . . admirably low-keyed, well-researched, and . . . even-handed. . . . Excellent, readable, and needed." —*Library Journal* $15.00

Available at bookstores or send $1.50 postage and handling for first book, 25¢ for each additional book, to order from publisher.
INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Tenth and Morton Streets, Bloomington, Indiana 47405

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rie, Dreiser pauses to tell the story of Hurstwood."

In describing Hurstwood's decline from the loss of his job, through his work as a strikebreaker, his descent into the world of flophouses, breadlines and the sediment of nameless, scarecrow men flapping their arms against the winter cold, Dreiser exhibits a cumulative power. The moral explanations, the philosophical effusions of a young man's mind that is dazzled from overexposure to Honoré de Balzac and Herbert Spencer, are largely absent; the writing is surer, more confident; there are even fewer corrections by other hands. Compared with this story, the account of Carrie's new freedom and her rise to musical-comedy stardom inevitably pales into an ironic transvaluation of the Horatio Alger myth: there seems to be no compelling esthetic reason to end the story with Carrie—except to carry on the affair with Ames, which would have been supererogatory. And so the ultimate mystery becomes, why did Dreiser alter his ending?

In a 1907 interview, in connection with the re-publication of *Carrie*, Dreiser told a reporter that he had indeed concocted a new ending because he felt a need "to lead the story to a point, an elevation where it could be left and yet continue into the future." And so, one fine spring day he went to the Palisades above the Hudson River and lay down beneath a shelf of rock. After "two hours passed in a delicious mental drifting . . . suddenly came the inspiration of its own accord. I reached for my note book and pencil and wrote. And when I left the Palisades 'Sister Carrie' was completed."

This account is contradicted by physical evidence in the handwritten manuscript. With the pages of the novel itself are thirteen sheets of notes, so hastily written as to be almost indecipherable. They are in Jug's hand, save for about a page in the middle which is clearly Dreiser's writing. The Pennsylvania editors suggest plausibly that the notes were dictated—"perhaps by Dreiser or Henry, but one cannot be sure." The notes are an outline for the new ending, containing ideas and phrasing that appear in it. If Dreiser had the ending already down in his notebook, why did he dictate it to Jug?

Other evidence suggests that Jug played a more important role in the writing of the book than merely inserting apostrophes and correcting spelling. We have already seen how she deleted all hints of Carrie's sexuality in the manuscript. On the typescript she altered the dialogue to make Carrie speak more correctly so that she sounds at times like a refugee from *Godey's Lady's Book*, rather than an untutored country girl. Further evidence of Jug's role was adduced by Stephen C. Brennan in an article published in *The Dreiser Newsletter*, Fall, 1978. Brennan made the first positive identification of Jug's handwriting, which happened to be very similar to Henry's. He demonstrated that her role was more considerable than scholars previously believed. Counting the corrections she made (220 in all, compared with twelve by Henry), he concludes that "almost ninety percent of Jug's editorial revisions appear in the first thirty-one chapters of the first draft, which take Carrie and Hurstwood up to their arrival in Montreal." From this he deduces that "when Dreiser was concerned primarily with Carrie, he relied heavily on the editorial advice of his wife, perhaps feeling unsure of his treatment of a woman."

Could a kind of subconscious triangle have come into being, involving Dreiser, Jug and Carrie? Jug's role as grammarian and technical adviser on dress and hairstyles may have expanded in a subliminal way to that of literary chaperone. And if Jug was not jealous in the literal meaning of the word, she may have at least felt a jealousy for his work, which consumed him. She was not content, in other words, to sit idly by while Carrie stole her husband; she had to assert some power over her rival. Dreiser, uneasy as he was about the correct handling of this "Victorian vamp" he had unleashed, may even have welcomed Jug's rendering her sexually innocuous, at least in her physical characteristics, but did he also allow her to influence him? We cannot be sure how it happened, but he permitted values closer to Jug's than his own to prevail in the ending. That is the real meaning of Jug's notes.

In the first place, the notes make clear that Ames must not be a "matrimonial possibility" for Carrie. Thus, Dreiser rewrote the scene between them so that Ames is more aloof, more superior; he lectures Carrie, urging her to raise her sights above the chorus line and become a dramatic actress. There is no sexual spark between them. Several critics have observed that Ames is an idealized version of Dreiser himself; if so, in the original Carrie-Ames scene he let slip his love for his heroine—the "affair" with her got out of hand. In fact, Dreiser created the possibility of a young woman who is immoral by all standards of polite society achieving the virtuous woman's ultimate reward: marrying the handsome, clean-cut young man rather than being punished.

This surely ran against Jug's Midwestern grain. Recall, too, that the revision of this scene was accomplished in the manuscript stage—before the Harper report, which called Henry's editorial rescue operation into action. Jug had followed Carrie's career closely, and it seems probable that she would want the last word on her fate.

And she literally did have the last word. For after Dreiser wrote the new "blind strivings" ending, the Pennsylvania editors tell us, he gave it to Jug to make a fair copy. Jug's copy was not word for word; indeed, she changed Dreiser's version in small but important ways. Dreiser's finale read:

> In your rocking chair, by your window dreaming, shall you long for beauty. In your rocking chair, by your window shall you still know such happiness as you may ever feel.

Jug's version of these sentences (changes indicated in italics) becomes:

> In your rocking chair, by your window dreaming, shall you long *alone*. In your rocking chair by your window shall you *dream* such happiness as you may *never* feel.

Jug's changes emphasize that Carrie will long *alone*; she is placed in a solitary confinement, denied all further knowing and feeling. She becomes a kind of nun, and another sentence, written by Dreiser, has already made her a sister of charity: "Her purse was open to him whose need was most." But Jug cut out the preceding sentence: "Her honor she kept decently," apparently determined to remove even the slightest question about Carrie's virtue. Where Dreiser's earlier version suggested that Carrie would at least retain a full-blooded involvement in life, Jug condemns her to dreamy solipsism. In the notes is a passage that does not appear

FREE 1981 DOVER CATALOG
3,000 attractive paperbacks from $1.50 to $5.00, formerly $10 to $500. *Latest releases* in art, music, philosophy, anthropology, architecture, photography, fiction, chess, children's books, science. By Einstein, Trollope, Spinoza, Botvinnik, Braque, Picasso. *86-page catalog absolutely FREE! Write* Dover Pubns., Dept. A5, 180 Varick St., N.Y. 10014. *"America's most imaginative reprint publisher."* —Time Magazine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in Dreiser's new ending, but underscores Carrie's lonely fate:

> It was now the garden within looking outward. Instead of flying around helter skelter with the rest . . . what delights she knew were found in her quiet rocker in her room.

If Dreiser never mentioned Jug's alterations in the book, neither did he ever suggest that he was unhappy with the ending. A story appearing in the *Bookman* in 1901 suggests that he indeed wished to develop the Ames-Carrie connection, but James West 3d, one of the editors of this volume, has shown that the story was actually a plant by a publisher with whom Dreiser had contracted to write *Jenny Gerhardt*. The publisher was considering reissuing *Sister Carrie* after *Jenny Gerhardt* was completed, but the purpose of the plant was to signal that it would come out under a new title and that the plot would be changed. And in the publisher's revised version, Carrie was to beg Ames to marry her and he would refuse—in view of her past and her disreputable profession. This, of course, was not what Dreiser originally had in mind at all, and reflected more precisely the moral codes of the day.

In restoring Dreiser's masterpiece, the editors of the Pennsylvania Edition have given us more than a literary curiosity; like art historians cleaning a Da Vinci fresco, they have uncovered the original glowing with an ancient newness. It would be impossible, they say, to come up with a single "definitive" version of *Sister Carrie*, and so they have followed the conservative course—removing the work of alien hands. Thus, they sidestep a major criticism of Dreiser—the crudity of his writing. They retain his lumbering style, even when Jug or Henry arguably improved it, and restore passages that would have best been left out. But they have not restored one thing that Dreiser's abandoned waif of a book lacked—the guiding hand of a sympathetic editor. Still, the massive labor they have performed is an exemplary one, and its scope is attested to by the copious notes, historical references and scholarly apparatus they have appended to the Pennsylvania Edition (Penguin Books has published a more popular version, minus the scholarly matter). Restored, Carrie, Hurstwood and Drouet acquire new depth and shading, and Dreiser's book, with all its flaws, is given a miraculous second chance.

Like most young writers, Dreiser oscillated between fierce ambition and its complement, fear of failure. As it happened, a writer of his originality and power could afford quite a few compromises with ambition. The cut version of *Sister Carrie* has stood as a great work of art. But for all his subsequent battles against the forces of censorship, Dreiser never raised the possibility of restoring *Sister Carrie* to its original frankness. To have done so would have opened a door on the past that he wished to remain forever closed. He would have had to admit that the severest censor of *Sister Carrie* had been its author, not Frank Doubleday. □

# 'You Must Think Hard'

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

ADULT EDUCATION. *By Annette Williams Jaffee. Ontario Review Press. 230 pp. $12.95.*

Annette Williams Jaffee's first novel has been published by Ontario Review Press, a new house founded by Joyce Carol Oates and her husband, Raymond J. Smith. Jaffee has studied with poet Maxine Kumin, whose praise, along with kind words from Oates and other women writers, appears on the book's jacket. In short, this book's publication exemplifies its theme: the fruits of friendship between women.

In the mid-1960s, in an unnamed New Jersey community very much like Princeton, where Jaffee studied with Kumin, and where Oates and Smith live and publish, a garrulous, credulous young faculty wife named Becca has settled with her husband, a spoiled, opinionated sociologist. A former dance major from Bennington, Becca has stumbled into marriage with Gerry, her first and only lover, in the wake of accidental pregnancy, even though she "knows she is many times brighter than Gerry will ever give her credit for." She has stayed with him even though she has caught him in what he calls "a celebratory fuck"—"ritualistic, if you prefer"—with a former lover. Since her pregnancy has effectively sabotaged a dance career, Becca embraces short-lived political enthusiasms, keeps amateurishly busy at tennis, photography, pottery, yoga and poetry, jumping out of bed in the middle of the night ("like George Sand, she hoped") to write.

In one more adult education class, this time in pre-Columbian art, Becca meets Ulli, a beautiful, self-possessed Swede who has, with no regrets, abandoned modeling for Richard Avedon and partying with Norman Mailer for *House Beautiful* housewifery. From a stylistic point of view, the women's friendship begins promisingly:

> They were both pregnant with their first children and sat like two Marimekko pumpkins in a field of withering vines, a group of professors' widows. The widows were off to Mexico when the course ended, with the instructor, who was as brown and round as a Toltec jug. Becca later thought of them during the long winter of her motherhood, imagined their knotty legs in support hose, climbing the Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan, an endless stairway to Paradise, while she shuffled back and forth like a tired obedient cow.

The scion of Jewish vaudevillians turned Chicago Cadillac dealers, Becca cannot resist the easy joke.

> Ulli's father was a Swedish count; Becca's father was a Jewish prince. "Ha! Ha!" said Becca, "he really was. You should have seen my mother and my grandmother crawling all over the kitchen table trying to feed him."

Becca's uneasiest joke is that "my whole life has been like learning to walk. That I just put one foot in front of the other without thinking." It is Ulli, rather than any subject, that she studies most consistently, trying to serve an apprenticeship in contented adulthood.

Ulli urges Becca to take her poetry seriously; she asks her motherly, therapeutic questions like, "Why can't you be happy?" She advises: "You have to protect yourself" and "You must think hard." It is clear why the restless, undisciplined Becca—whose plaint is "This is not what I was promised"—is drawn to Ulli, but what the meticulous Ulli enjoys about their friendship, other than the constant chore of picking up pieces of Becca, re-

*Ann Marie Cunningham is a New York writer and editor, and director of The American Writers Congress, a project of The Nation Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mains murky. Ulli, who can neither dance nor write, certainly does not relish or encourage Becca's childish insistence that her friend can do anything.

Besides unappealing marriages (Ulli's husband, John, a television newsman, is at a loss for conversation without a script), motherhood (Becca eventually has two daughters, Ulli one son) and a neighborhood, Becca and Ulli share singularly inattentive parents and histories as victims of sexual abuse.

At Bennington, Becca fell under the sway of a sadistic director, who made her strip during an audition and cajoled her into posing pornographically in Victorian corsets. A week before her wedding, he sent the results to Becca's fiancé, who produced them several years later at the height of an argument. When Becca sees the pictures again, "only slowly did she comprehend, the rawness, the exposure, the use" the photographer had made of her. (She had insisted to Ulli that she still thought of the director as "the road not taken.") She never does seem to register her husband's manipulativeness, his emotional blackmail.

Ulli was raped at the age of 14 by her mother's lover. Although she remonstrates that the Bennington director was "sick, Becca, you could have been badly hurt," Ulli fell in love with her rapist and thinks of him still. The man told her mother that Ulli had seduced him. Her mother, already uncomfortable because her daughter may have been the progeny of an affair with a Nazi officer, chose to believe her lover, banishing Ulli to a Parisian convent school. Emerging from the convent, Ulli, like Becca, is used by the camera; as a model in Paris and later New York, she felt like "a sofa with many slipcovers." She "felt glad when John came," but beyond appreciation of his taciturnity ("what a relief after those New York writers!"), her attitude toward him and her son, who limits self-expression to shrugs, remains a blank. She has never told her husband about the rape.

Presumably the author is making some connection between parental neglect and daughters who mistake misuse for care, between women's sexuality and a desire to be mothered. But because Becca and Ulli are two-dimensional throughout most of the book, links between their pasts and the present are tenuous at best. Becca graduates from adult education not through force of character or learning finally to focus her ambitions but by default: Gerry abandons her for a younger graduate student; Ulli dies. On her deathbed, Ulli becomes a force in Becca's life, if not a true character.

On vacation alone in France with her daughters, now pre-teens, Becca hears of Ulli's fatal illness. During a brief encounter with a Swede, physical contact reminds her of her surrogate mother: she imagines Ulli making love to her. Returning to New Jersey, she catches Ulli, her aging parent, as she falls in a seizure. She visits her own parents in Florida, and enjoys herself despite them. In this episode, Jaffee works a familiar vein, the peculiarities of retirement communities and the Jewish-American family, to strong advantage. Becca's scattershot quips score more direct hits than they do elsewhere in the book; they acquire a point of view other than self-deprecation.

Home from Florida, Becca finds Ulli hospitalized and her student wish to step into her teacher's shoes literally coming true in horrible ways. She and Ulli's husband drift into an affair. Becca worries about Ulli, too ill to comprehend or care. Since there has never been competition between the friends, especially not over men, does Ulli's lack of response amount to tacit complicity, a way of bequeathing her belongings to Becca? Becca wonders, lying in Ulli's bed, trying on her dress and clogs.

But the fit is poor: after Ulli's death, Becca turns down both John's convenient offer of marriage and Gerry's half-hearted offer of reconciliation, and moves to New York City with her daughters. Obsessed by memories of Ulli, she gives up night courses in favor of supporting herself by conducting dance therapy classes for troubled adolescent girls. Many of Becca's students have been damaged by rape or molestation. Their situation is a blacker version of Becca and Ulli's—a powerful theme whose significance is never developed properly. Like her heroine, Jaffee takes the easy road: she habitually picks up strong material, then lets it lie in favor of weaker comic effects.

Jaffee has a keener eye for her heroines' milieu and daily behavior than she does for the evolution of their personalities. Like Margaret Drabble, she excels at evoking her characters' investments in small domestic objects and rituals. The dying Ulli says to her friend,

> "Becca, would you like the little teapot with the hearts?"
>
> Becca sees the pot tipping back and forth a hundred times in their friendship; one of Ulli's hands on the handle, one on the top.

Unhappily, Jaffee's characters themselves are less painstakingly drawn: they tend to be stick figures or collections of ethnic exotica and predilections. Becca's intelligence is meant to be conveyed through ribald, black, or wry humor, but it rarely works ("My family tapdanced their way through Auschwitz"). Ulli, usually described in terms of "her tact, her comfort, her long Swedish silences," remains more an oasis of civilized femininity than a real woman. Unlike Becca, she never once complains of fate's injustice. Nor is it possible to learn much about these two women and their friendship from their improbable husbands and children.

In the end, the best part of this novel, the part one remembers with affection and pleasure, is not a person at all but Ulli's orderly, fragrant house. Understandably, Becca seems to spend far more time there than she does in her own home. The house, more than any man or woman, mother or child, evokes an image of dignity, tranquillity, responsibility taken and borne gracefully, friendship that strengthens. The soapy plot makes for addictive reading, but it's nearly impossible to believe in Becca's "adult education" through another woman. Jaffee's writing is stronger when it is photographic. Her descriptions of Ulli's well-cared-for house suggest adulthood more attractively than any of her characters do. □

Join the Nation Associates, a loyal and committed group of our readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $50 and up (annual membership includes a one-year subscription to *The Nation* and participation in a variety of Nation Associates activities).

For further information, please write or call Claudine Bacher at (212) 242-8400.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# 'A High Moral Obligation'

MARY E. TUTTLE

BAD BLOOD. *By James H. Jones. The Free Press. 272 pp. $14.95.*

This book offers the first historical treatment of the U.S. Public Health Service study that for forty years kept appropriate medical treatment from hundreds of poverty-stricken, syphilis-ridden black tenant farmers in rural Macon County, Alabama. From 1932 until national publicity stopped the practice in 1972, the service cordoned off 399 black men in a "private laboratory." Laws were broken, lies told and subjects misled as the men were kept first from full doses of the mercury and arsenic initially used to treat syphilis and, after 1943, from penicillin.

The Tuskegee study had an innocent enough beginning. In 1930, the Julius Rosenwald Fund bankrolled a demonstration project, run by the Public Health Service, that monitored the prevalence of numerous diseases, including syphilis, in Macon County and provided treatment for those diseases. When the fund decided to end its support, the Public Health Service latched onto this ready-made population for its own study, converting the Rosenwald treatment program into a non-therapeutic experiment.

The black men's "deeply ingrained deference to authority figures, coupled with their eagerness to receive medical attention, made them willing subjects," writes James H. Jones. They did not know what syphilis was and did not connect their symptoms with sexual intercourse. The men were told that their annual examinations were "special free treatment" and were not told that the doctors' only real interest lay in observing the ravages of syphilis after "bringing them to autopsy," in one doctor's words. "They told me I had bad blood," Jones quotes one subject, Charles Pollard, as saying. "And that's what they've been telling me ever since."

The experiment's purpose was to observe the effects of syphilis in its final phase and to see if untreated syphilis progressed differently in blacks than in whites. Such a comparison was possible because of a study that began with 2,000 white Norwegian males in Oslo in 1891 but was brought to a halt in 1910 once arsenic derivatives were discovered to have some effect on syphilis. Why such a study was necessary was never made clear. What *was* clear was that the Tuskegee study was an expression and an extension of a nineteenth-century Southern medical mentality that sought to maintain black separateness by finding pseudoscientific evidence of black peculiarities, the author argues.

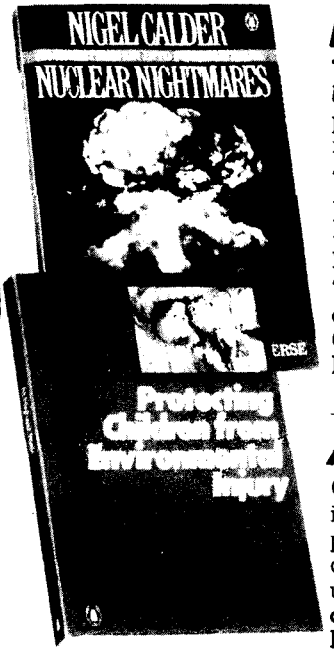
One of Jones's more astounding findings was the 1951 Public Health Service review of the study's procedures. The review was launched because "no one knew the exact number of subjects, the study records were incomplete and poorly organized, attendance had fallen off at the annual [examinations], numerous subjects could no longer be accounted for, and the issue of contamination [by partial treatment] remained unsettled." Despite these findings, the review recommended that the study continue. That recommendation was accompanied by this comment from the study's director, a physician: "We know now, what we could only surmise before, that we have contributed to their ailments and shortened their lives. I think the least we can say is that we have a high moral obligation to those that have died to make this the best study possible."

Perhaps the study's greatest moral puzzle is Eunice Rivers, the black nurse who was the liaison between the experiment's white physicians and the black men who trusted her. Jones describes her as "a professional woman, a nurse who could do what the doctors ordered. . . . Any other response would have been unthinkable for a nurse of her generation." She was crucial to the experiment, for it was she, Jones writes, who made the rural black men "believe that they were receiving medical care that was helping them."

Rivers claims in retrospect to have had doubts about treating the men with mercury and arsenic, and by the time penicillin came along, Jones writes, "a momentum had developed: not treating them had become routine." Further, she chose to view as medical *care* the medical *attention* the men were receiv-

*Mary E. Tuttle is a freelance writer and community affairs producer for KANU, public radio in Lawrence, Kansas.*


**There's still time to safeguard the health of our planet and our children. These books tell us what we need to know!**




**NUCLEAR NIGHTMARES**

The author of the bestselling *Einstein's Universe*—Nigel Calder—investigates possible wars and suggests how we might defuse the nuclear time bomb.

"The final war can't be studied afterward. For those who know they must learn about it now, this is an excellent place to start." —*Washington Monthly*

"There is no better way we could occupy ourselves than by reflecting on what Calder has to say and then praying that his book will sell in millions." —*New Republic*

**AT HIGHEST RISK**

Christopher Norwood's guide to protecting children from environmental injury provides the knowledge needed for action—to protect the young and the unborn. **"An invaluable guide for parents and prospective parents who plan to raise healthy families."** —Michael Brown, author of *Laying Waste*

At your bookstore
**PENGUIN PAPERBACKS**


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing. In her view, "the experiment lavished medical attention on those fortunate enough to be selected," Jones writes. He quotes her as saying, "They didn't get treatment for syphilis, but they got so much else." By that she meant the annual checkups, the free hot meals on examination day and burial stipends.

In fact, "what troubled [her] more than anything was the plight of the people who came to her begging to be admitted to the study. . . . With outsiders pleading for admission and the subjects grateful to be in, Rivers had moral certainty that the study was benefiting the men. . . . [She] devoted her life to the experiment with a clear conscience," denying that it was either racist or medically damaging. Her convictions were reinforced in 1958 when she was brought to Washington, D.C., to receive the Oveta Culp Hobby Award—the highest commendation the Department of Health, Education and Welfare could give an employee—for her work in what was called "a venereal disease control program in Macon County, Alabama."

Not only white physicians supported the Tuskegee experiment. The Macon County Medical Society, whose membership became increasingly black over the years, and Tuskegee Institute, the black trade school founded by Booker T. Washington, cooperated with the study. When soliciting black professionals' cooperation, Public Health Service officials changed the name of the project from "a study of the effects of syphilis on the Negro male" to "a study of the effects of syphilis on the human economy." This permitted the black doctors "to preserve the fiction that the Tuskegee Institute was not lending biracial support to a racist experiment. . . . Nothing better illustrated the dilemma of black middle-class professionals who wanted to succeed in a society which was dominated by whites."

Jean Heller of The Associated Press exposed the project in 1972 and the Tuskegee syphilis experiment was halted. The survivors were tracked down and promised medical care by the doctors of their choice for the rest of their lives, and treatment was extended to the subjects' wives who had contracted syphilis and their children born with syphilis. A $1.8 billion class action suit filed on behalf of the subjects and their heirs against the U.S. government in 1973 was settled out of court in 1974 for $10 million. Public Health Service officers expressed no contrition. Rivers allowed, "We probably made some mistakes." □

# FILMS.

## ROBERT HATCH

### Numero Deux

In 1975, Jean-Luc Godard and his colleague, Anne-Marie Mieville, made *Numero Deux* at Godard's studio in Grenoble, France. This was at an ebb period in the director's personal and professional life. He had been in a serious motorcycle accident and was out of favor with the Paris film community and with the international distributors, who had found his recent pictures didactic, politically suspect and ill-tempered. *Numero Deux* was shown in New York at the Museum of Modern Art as part of a French series, but had no general release. Now, after the success of *Every Man for Himself*, which assimilates some of the radical experiments of the earlier film into a more conventional format, the Center for Public Cinema has chosen *Numero Deux* as the first offering of its International Film Theaters. It is being shown at the Carnegie Hall Cinema on a repertory schedule which, as described below, is itself an interesting experiment.

Reviewing *Every Man for Himself*, I remarked that Godard had promoted film technology into the substance of the picture, setting up, as it were, a lattice of craftsmanship through which one peered somewhat anxiously to stay abreast of the narrative. *Numero Deux* employs this bifocal approach much more strenuously. As Godard explains in a prologue, he was surrounded in his studio with equipment of almost limitless flexibility and enterprise, but lacked spirit or funds to put it to work. He was then visited by a friend from Paris—probably Georges de Beauregarde, producer of *Breathless*—who, professing himself dismayed by the sight of such excellent machinery standing idle, undertook to raise some cash and suggested that an updated version of the famous 1959 movie might be a suitable venture for displaying the studio's capabilities. *Numero Deux* does allude to *Breathless*, once at some length, but the references are made in passing. More important, the film puts the equipment through acrobatics of high-spirited virtuosity.

Godard treats his screen as the ground for a particularly impetuous and unfettered collage, breaking up the area into two, sometimes three, simultaneous images, enlarging and contracting these projections from moment to moment, superimposing them, repeating them in new associations, masking some areas, reflecting others with mirrors, contrasting what is seen with what is heard, playing the devil with the logic of time and place. And across the blank area of the screen he strings the catchwords of our era, which constantly rearrange themselves into new patterns of assertion, like the spinning alphabets of an airport arrival and departure board.

Kaleidoscopic is the apt, if too obvious, comment, and one recalls that Godard has had considerable experience with the monitor screens of television transmission. I have watched *Numero Deux* only once and am well aware that at any given moment I caught but a fraction of its juxtapositions. Not that the substance of the film is much diminished by one's inability to isolate all the cross-references. The possibilities are inexhaustible and that is the point—everything relates to everything else and we are fixed in a grid.

That being the assumption, we look intently through the viewing apertures of Godard's black wall into the life of a lower-middle-class couple, their young son and daughter and two of their elderly parents. The man (Pierre Oudry) works in a factory, the woman (Sandrine Battistella) works in the home, which, as he says, is her factory. All of them, but these two particularly, are viewed politically, economically and in their physical functions. They earn money and spend it, cook food and eat it, make the bed and copulate upon it. Occasionally they are making love; more often they are merely screwing, which is the domestic version of the political manipulation and economic exploitation that control the public aspects of their lives.

Sexuality, I believe, has never been filmed more explicitly and with less erotic content. Yet the scant lyricism in this couple's lives is kindled by their coupling. The husband is moved, by a spectacularly advantageous view of his wife's buttocks, to reflect on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cooperative rivalry that prevails between a river and its banks. The children observe their parents' intercourse and ask to have it explained to them. This is done with a frankness and tenderness that are breathtaking. It is at this point, I think, that one takes the measure of Godard's bitterness—the children are full of hope and optimistic curiosity; they are disposed to approve of what they understand and to reserve judgment on what is not yet clear to them. The adults have seen through everything that affects them as citizens, workers, consumers or physical organisms, and the word constantly and dismissively on their lips is "shit." In this respect, the old man (Alexandre Rignault) is refreshing; a one-time union officer and Communist activist, he has no more illusions than do the younger couple, but he has retained—or lately acquired—the grace to laugh at corruption and folly. But he is little seen and the relief is brief.

Godard was out of sorts when he made *Every Man for Himself*; in *Numero Deux* he is so fed up that the mood swirls like a dank mist through the film. It is a familiar enough view of the human condition; we have all been known to hold it. Nevertheless, it is lopsided. The figures in this movie emerge with startling clarity, as figures do when seen through a concentrating frame, but in his impatience with all the illusions that flesh out, dress up and thus falsify ordinary lives, Godard himself is censoring the truth to his purposes. When it is translated as "Number Two," readers may recognize the title as one of the two euphemisms employed by schoolchildren who have an urgent need to leave the classroom.

In a word, "shit," and if you start with that as your slogan, you warp the possibilities. After all, Godard visibly delights in the lenses and tapes that enable him to shape reality to his temper. But, as he knows, that power is also an illusion, and reality stripped of fancy is in turn illusory. It delights me to watch Godard punching holes through his screen to catch truth off guard, but I'm not convinced that he gets more than a fleeting grip on it.

Public Cinema opened *Numero Deux* on June 19 for a three-day run on an advance-sale basis. Thereafter, the picture is being shown for at least a month as the first and last daily screening in the International Film Theaters' repertory program. □

# CLASSIFIED.

## MISCELLANEOUS

**49 Biblical Contradictions**, $3.00; Discovery, Box 20331-TN, West Valley City, UT 84120.

**THEMM**—The Equally Moral Minority. Fight religious jingoism. ONE OF THEMM button, sample newsletter, $2. Bullock, 5072 Stoneboat Row, Columbia, MD 21044.

**DIAMOND INFO**—CS6800, 1685 Tustin A-200, C.M., CA 92627.

**$10,000 Finder's Fee** if sold to your referral: 250-Room, Beachfront Hotel. Details: Box-1953, Acapulco, Mexico.

**RETIREMENT** can be the best years of your life. Write, enclose $3, will send our proven suggestions. White Clover Patch U.S.A., Malta, OH 43758.

## FOR THE COLLECTOR

**FAMOUS LAST LETTERS**
BY
Joan of Arc, Henry IV, Marie Antoinette, Napoleon and more; one single set of actual letters, reproduced by the Paris Museum in 1935, available for sale. Nation Box 213.

## RECORDS & TAPES

**RAVI SHANKAR MUSIC CIRCLE.** The finest Indian classical music on stereo cassette. Free catalog: 7911 Willoughby Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90046.

## PERSONALS

**SINGLES WHO THINK** read & publish in Contact High. Find out why. Free brochure. Box 500-N, Mendocino, CA 95460

**I need** money for tuition, please help! R. Stanley, PO Box 2074, Wilkes-Barre, PA 18703.

**Oriental contacts**. Cherry Blossoms, Honokaa, HI 96727.

**SINGLE GENTLEMAN** wants lady companion for U.S. and foreign travel. He will pay most or all expenses as required. Box 18443, Houston, TX 77023.

**SCANDINAVIAN Ladies**, 18-65, sincere, seek correspondence/marriage. Details: Scannaclub, Dept. N5, Pittsford, NY 14534.

## VIDEO & FILM

**Video Cassettes**, 16mm, S8, all ratings home use. Huge cat., $1. THUNDERBIRD, Box 65157N, LA, CA 90065.

## BUTTONS, BUMPERSTICKERS

**TO HELL WITH THE MORAL MAJORITY** bumperstickers, 3-$2.50, 10-$8. New Wave, Box 4856T, San Diego, CA 92104.

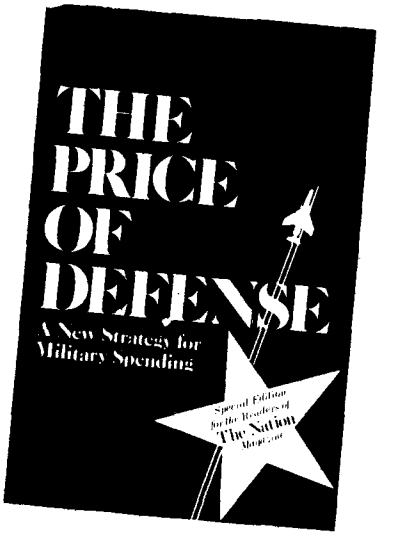
**"E.M.K. '84"** Kennedy bumpersticker. START THE MOVEMENT NOW! $1, The Committee for '84, 1666 Page St., San Francisco, CA 94117.


# THE PRICE OF DEFENSE

*A New Strategy for Military Spending*

SPECIAL NATION EDITION

*only* $4.95




**The only book where ordinary citizens get a thoroughly researched, intelligently argued presentation of U.S. military capabilities and commitments.**

**"It is a bold argument that the United States might get more security at less cost. THE PRICE OF DEFENSE has done just that, with facts, figures and in detail."**
J.W. Fulbright

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Please send $4.95, plus $1.00 for postage and handling (for additional copies add 50¢ each), to: **PRICE OF DEFENSE, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10011**


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFIED.

## BOOKS

**"Let Me Die Before I Wake":** Read Hemlock's book on self-deliverance for the dying. Membership $15. In 3 months' time you qualify for the book. Price $10. For details send SASE but no money: Hemlock, #101, 2803 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90405.

**Read** Emanuel Fried's working class plays. THE DODO BIRD (one act) $2.50 (UE NEWS: "Most authentic portrayal of workingmen in the history of the American theatre.") DROP HAMMER (3 acts) $4.50 (LOS ANGELES TIMES: "Odets twenty years later. A workingman's play.") Add $1 postage-handling per order, Labor Arts Books, 1064 Amherst St., Buffalo, NY 14216.

**"How to Execute an Agency"** by E. Waterhouse Allen. *Wicked, informed satire about Bureaucratic Types you* should recognize! Distilled from 50 years' work in human service agencies. 132 pages, 1st ed., ppd. $3.95, BARK-BACK, Box 235, Glenshaw, PA 15116.

**CLR JAMES, LAWRENCE FERLINGHETTI,** IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN, MARGE PIERCY, JULIUS LESTER, OCTAVIO PAZ, R. CRUMB among writers and artists in CULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE, #12, on "American Culture from the 1960's to the 1980's." Films, fiction, sports, music, humor. 120 pp., 8½x11", profusely illustrated. $5 postpaid. c/o Dorrwar Bookstore, 107½ Hope St., Providence, RI 02906. Full set of issues (#1-12), only $20 while they last.

**GET SMART CHEAP!** Save up to 90% on thousands of brand new sale books & records. Write for FREE catalog from the world's largest bookstore-BARNES & NOBLE, Dept. G711, 126 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

## TRAVEL

**MOUNTAIN HOT-SPRINGS HOTEL** in private valley: sunshine, swimming, massage, rest. Room & meals from $25 daily. Brochure: Apdo 1-1187, Guadalajara, Mexico.

**SUN AND FUN IN SAN JUAN**

Pvt. house, 5 min. walk to beach, Cont. bkft. $15 single, $22 double, now-Oct. THE BACK PORCH, 147 Calle Delbray, Santurce, PR 00911, (809) 722-6975.

## PUBLICATIONS

**TECHNOCRACY**—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

**FREE SAMPLE:** Read the muckraking political newsletter Washington is talking about. Write THE WASHINGTON CRAP REPORT, PO Box 10309, St. Petersburg, FL 33733.

**CULTURGRAMS:** 4-page cultural summaries on over 70 cultures. Send legal-sized, self-addressed, stamped envelope for complimentary Culturgram & publication list. Write BYU/LRC, 245 B-34, Provo, UT 84602.

Read **PHYSICAL FITNESS NEWSLETTER,** Dept. 450, PO 195, Western Springs, IL 60558. $1 Introductory Copy.

**City Limits . . .** Monthly News and analysis of NYC's Neighborhood Housing Movement. 50¢ Sample, $9 subscription. 424 W 33rd St, NY, NY 10001.

**DISARMAMENT** is the most important problem facing humanity today. The quality of life—in fact life itself—hangs in the balance. For a complimentary booklet "Disarmament in Attitude and Action," write World Goodwill, Dept. N, 866 U.N. Plaza, #566, New York, NY 10164.

**WORLD PEACE.** Send for the World Goodwill Newsletter, "Between War and Peace," promoting the idea of peace through the use of good will and right human relations. World Goodwill, Dept. N, 866 U.N. Plaza, #566, New York, NY 10164.

**LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES** (Journal): radical quarterly Marxist analysis of contemporary and historical developments. Spring '81 issue on Revolutionary Nicaragua, $4 per issue, subscriptions $14, students $12. Brochure available. LAP, Po Box 5703, Riverside, CA 92517.

## EVENTS

**Does your organization** have lectures, movies or rallies to announce? The Nation will advertise coming events of Public Interest Organizations at a special discount rate of 60¢/word. See the coupon in this section for deadlines.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

**RATES:** $.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

**Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!**

**TO:** *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

**Enclosed is my check for $____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks**

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

**Payment in U.S. currency**

## REAL ESTATE

ARE
YOU
BUYING
OR
SELLING
REAL ESTATE?

ADVERTISE
IN
*THE NATION.*

**CHICAGO BOUND?** Live in Oak Park—unique urban suburb. Classic architecture, active diverse population, excellent library and schools. Just 15 minutes from downtown Chicago by public transportation. Free housing referral service—brochures, too. Contact Donna, OAK PARK HOUSING CENTER, 1041 South Blvd., Oak Park, IL 60302. (312) 848-7150.

**Rocky Mts.,** 100 mi. N.W. of Denver. 4A, 2 houses. $260,000. WOODLAND, 10391 Hwy 34, Grand Lake, CO 80447.

**Tucson, Arizona.** Buy Townhouses, residences, land, motels, apartments. Free information. Reputable Roy Long Realty, 252 W. Ina Rd., 85704. M.J. Barrett.

## QUERIES

**AUTHOR'S QUERY**

*For a compendium of erroneous, untrue and just plain* stupid statements by experts, we would appreciate hearing of any sources, anecdotes, documents, etc. about inexpert authorities in any field, in any age. Write Nation Box 80.

## LITERARY SERVICES

**BOOKS**—Used and rare. FREE search service. Send *wants to James Books, Box 521B, Brookline, MA* 02147.

**BIBLIOPHILES.** Out of print books, first editions located. Send wants. No obligation. Ron Griswold, Bookfinder, 1811 North Highland Street, Arlington, VA 22201.

**The Nation's Best Crossword Puzzles**

Get Book #4 by sending $3.75 (postpaid) to E.S. Lewis, 62 Fort Street, Fairhaven, MA 02719. Or send $8 for a set of all four books by Frank Lewis.

## BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

**$100; $480 Weekly:** Legal easy money. Details with self-addressed stamped envelope. C.I., PO Box 5787, San Bernardino, CA 92410.

**WAYS TO INCREASE YOUR INCOME.** Investment advice, bus. opps. Send 2 stamps. Parson Mkt., PO Box 604-TN, New York, NY 10031.

**BECOME A DOCTOR OF NUTRIPATHY** by correspondence. Info. $13, refundable. American College of Nutripathy, 6821 E. Thomas, Scottsdale, AZ 85251. (602) 946-5515.

## ASSOCIATIONS

**BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY.** Information: N, RD1, Box 409, Coopersburg, Pa. 18036.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## HEALTH

**INSPIRATIONAL REVIEW**. New concepts for a better, healthier and more prosperous life. Holistic principles. Free information. Sample issue $5. Box 5610-TN, Los Angeles, CA 90055.

**Lose 20 lbs** in 2 weeks on diet used by the Mayo Clinic. $1. C.M.W., 3824 Linderman, Racine, WI 53405.

**ON-THE-ROAD** diet tips. $2. Box 1103, Burnsville, NC 28714.

**Survivors of psychiatric assault** request assistance exposing abusive techniques. Mental Patients Alliance, Box 1012, Oswego, NY 13126, (315) 947-5822.

**SPIRULINA** -- The Word that is on the lips of more and more health conscious people everywhere. The highest source of nutrition ever discovered on the planet, spirulina is the fastest selling new health product in the country. Product and Distributor inquiries: Gerald Dresow, 4154 Meadowbrook Ln., St. Louis Park, MN 55426.

## RECIPES

**Vegetarian Gourmet Cookbook,** only $4.95. Venture Enterprises, 4400 Sarah #2TN, Burbank, CA 91505.

**Grandma's** Delicious Italian Cheesecake Recipe. $1. C Villa, 2065 First Ave. New York, NY 10029.

**HOMEMADE RAVIOLI**, a genuine Italian recipe 25¢ and self-addressed stamped envelope. C.M.W., 3824 Linderman Ave., Racine, WI 53405.

**WINE RECIPE**. Instructions for how to naturally ferment grapes into a potent wine. SASE & 25¢. C.M.W., 3824 Linderman Ave., Racine, WI 53405.

## INSURANCE

**DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.**

**ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE**

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021

212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

# MOVING??

Please allow us 6 weeks notice. New Address:

name

address

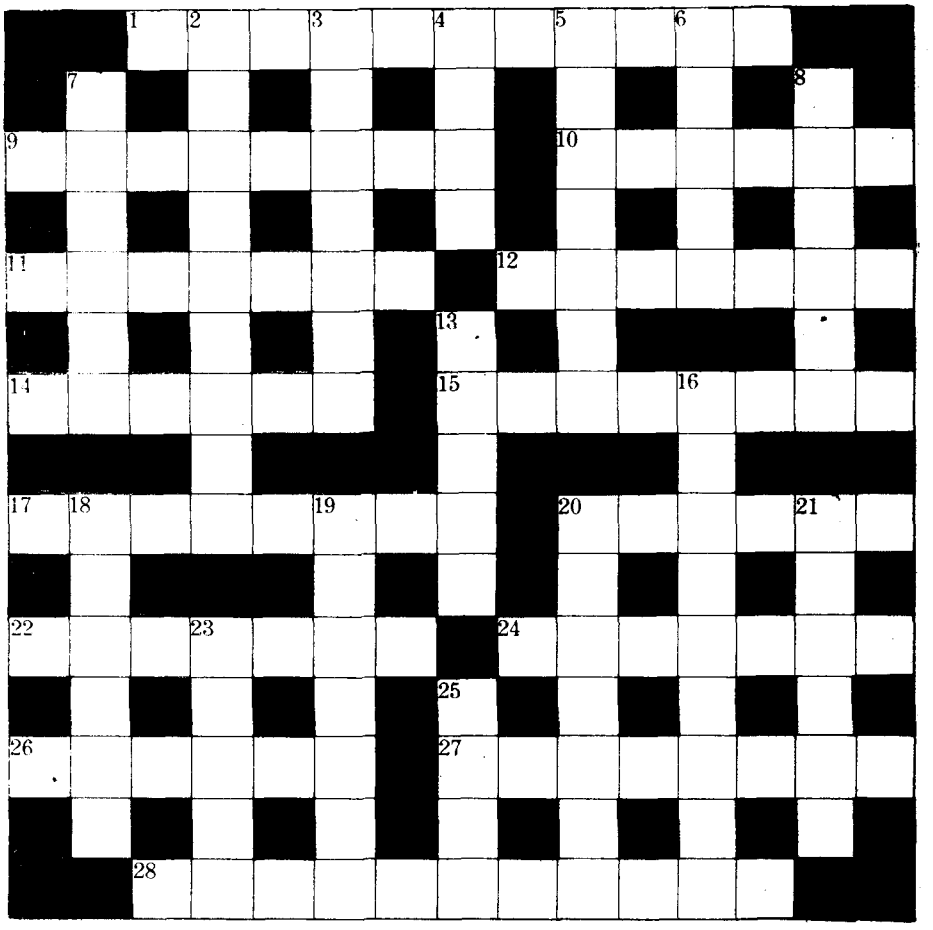
city state zip

Mail To: The Nation
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

Please send an address label from a recent issue along with your new address to help us speed the change. Thank you.


# Crossword Puzzle No. 1876

**FRANK W. LEWIS**



### ACROSS

1 To taste, as they playfully put it. (2,3,4,2)
9 Although you might find such a steak red, your bacon is more likely to be. (8)
10 and 17 You have this on oath! (2,4,3,5)
11 Hands Across the Table? (They shouldn't tell you much!) (7)
12 Your old French king has several hundred, but a body needs but one. (7)
14 Started play, though misled of factual matters, in part. (3,3)
15 Legendary two-striper, being little known to pastry lovers. (8)
17 See 10 across
20 A few lines for the boy to catch. (6)
22 See 6 down
24 Fruit came first, as Browning's hill-side was with dew. (7)
26 Obviously the maiden is in distress because of the city. (6)
27 A buzzer dispatched inside—not the present one. (8)
28 One might easily take umbrage if so unlike an elephant. (4-7)

### DOWN

2 You might find some at bat, but one also might use paddles. (9)
3 A major distinction, if gold. (3,4)
4, 13 and 25 She should at least get used to the pitch, being on the stage at one time. (4,2,3,4)
5 The puck gets knocked about and the vessel doesn't go down, as well! (Some people "try it on the dog"!) (7)
6 and 22 across Bury 26 without an upset, with tea brewed between stages. (12)
7 Bring into accord, and tauten when loose. (6)
8 A seemingly colorless individual. (6)
13 See 4 down
16 Certainly not a close-up shot this way—of Mr. Chaney on the farm, perhaps. (4-5)
18 Well this is rich! (Some things are inclined to be over this way.) (6)
19 One doesn't expect to find it if the track is down. (2-5)
20 As you were, boy! (It probably implies a big overhead.) (7)
21 The number of football players being dummies, the figures herein prove. (6)
23 Reputedly fighters of a famous 21. (5)
25 See 4 down

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1875

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N | O | R | T | H | E | R | N | | L | I | G | H | T | S |
| E | | U | | O | | O | | S | | D | | O | | I |
| W | I | L | L | O | W | Y | | P | A | L | A | T | A | L |
| L | | E | | P | | A | | R | | E | | P | | V |
| A | R | R | A | S | | L | O | A | D | S | T | O | N | E |
| M | | | | K | | T | | N | | | | T | | R |
| P | A | T | T | I | | Y | U | G | O | S | L | A | V | |
| S | | H | | R | | | | | | C | | T | | S |
| | T | O | M | T | H | U | M | B | | A | B | O | U | T |
| F | | M | | | | S | | R | | P | | | | A |
| O | R | A | N | G | E | A | D | E | | A | G | A | I | N |
| R | | S | | R | | G | | A | | F | | R | | D |
| O | R | I | F | I | C | E | | D | I | L | E | M | M | A |
| L | | N | | S | | S | | T | | O | | O | | R |
| D | E | A | D | T | O | | T | H | E | W | O | R | L | D |

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# You're Worried About the Country. Try The Nation.

**Are you terrified** by talk of "limited" or "containable" nuclear war?

> "The notion of a limited nuclear war has been around for a long time in American strategic thinking. . . . It is, perhaps, the most dangerous, as it is the most irrational, of all the spells that the 'alchemists' have cast. For it is in the name of 'surgical strikes' and 'menus' of 'options' that nuclear warfare is being made thinkable—and therefore possible or even probable—once more."
>
> —*E. P. Thompson,* The Nation, *Jan. 24, 1981*

**Do you fear** the new proposals for "unleashing the intelligence agencies," legalizing wiretapping, bugging and break-ins, and putting informers into anti-nuke organizations? Are you wondering why Senator Strom Thurmond has organized a new Security and Terrorism Subcommittee?

> "The danger represented by the Security and Terrorism boys is that they will move, with the support of the Administration, to legitimize the illegitimate, to make respectable that which was previously done only undercover because it was fundamentally shameful."
>
> —*Victor Navasky,* The Nation, *Feb. 14, 1981*

**Are you shocked** by military budgets that go higher and higher while funding disappears for legal services, health and food programs, and scholarships—in short, the programs which help the poor?

> "Masquerading as prudent economizing in the interest of all Americans suffering from inflation, the Reagan budget's real purposes are ideological, aiming to shift the burden of the society ever more unfairly onto those least able to bear them."
>
> —*Editorial,* The Nation, *April 11, 1981*

**If these trends alarm you, read** *The Nation,* America's oldest political weekly. Our writers regularly address these issues and many more, writers like Kurt Vonnegut, Frances FitzGerald, E. L. Doctorow, Nicholas von Hoffman, Robert Sherrill, Calvin Trillin and Fred J. Cook, as well as newcomers like Anne Nelson, Tom Ferguson and Joel Rogers, and Christopher Hitchens.

## THE NATION is a journal of opinion that arms you with facts.

Now you can try 16 issues of *The Nation* for just $11.95. And if you enclose payment, we'll send you FOUR ADDITIONAL ISSUES FREE OF CHARGE! Fill out the coupon below and send it in today.

# The Nation.

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

**YES!!! Send me 16 issues of *The Nation* for $11.95, a savings of 40% off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.**

☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!

☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____ (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Add $3 postage for each foreign subscription. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8127

SEND *THE NATION* TO A FRIEND! (And save $2.)
Please send 16 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $11.95 for the first and $9.95 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

GIFT TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ for _____ subscription(s). (Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)

☐ Bill me later.

D8127

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED